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ABSTRACT

High school teachers of social studies and Latin can use the lessons in this guide to convey to students a deeper appreciation of the U.S. Constitution and simultaneously restore an awareness of the relevance of the classics to most human and political questions. Each adaptable plan is intended to supplement or complement a course in social studies (world, Western, U.S. history and government) or Latin (beyond introductory) or both. This booklet contains five lesson plans. The lessons are: (1) "A Team Approach: The Classical Concept of Civic Virtue in the Modern World"; (2) "Classical Education in Early America"; (3) "'Virtus' and 'Pietas': Foundations of Citizenship in a Republic"; (4) "Tiberius: Touchstone of Tyranny? (A Research/Role Playing Unit for Latin II)"; and (5) "Milestones in Ancient and Modern Western Thought." Each lesson plan suggests subject areas and grade levels where it can be used effectively, length of units, list of assigned readings, an introduction to the lesson by its developer, and a description of the teaching plan. The appendices contain a synopsis of institute lectures and readings; a bibliography of required institute readings (16 items) and of selected secondary literature on themes related to the institute (170 items); brief biographies of seven classical writers noted for political thought; and, a list of four recent textbooks on teaching the classics. (LH)

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Teaching Classical Political Theory and the U.S. Constitution in High School Latin and Social Studies

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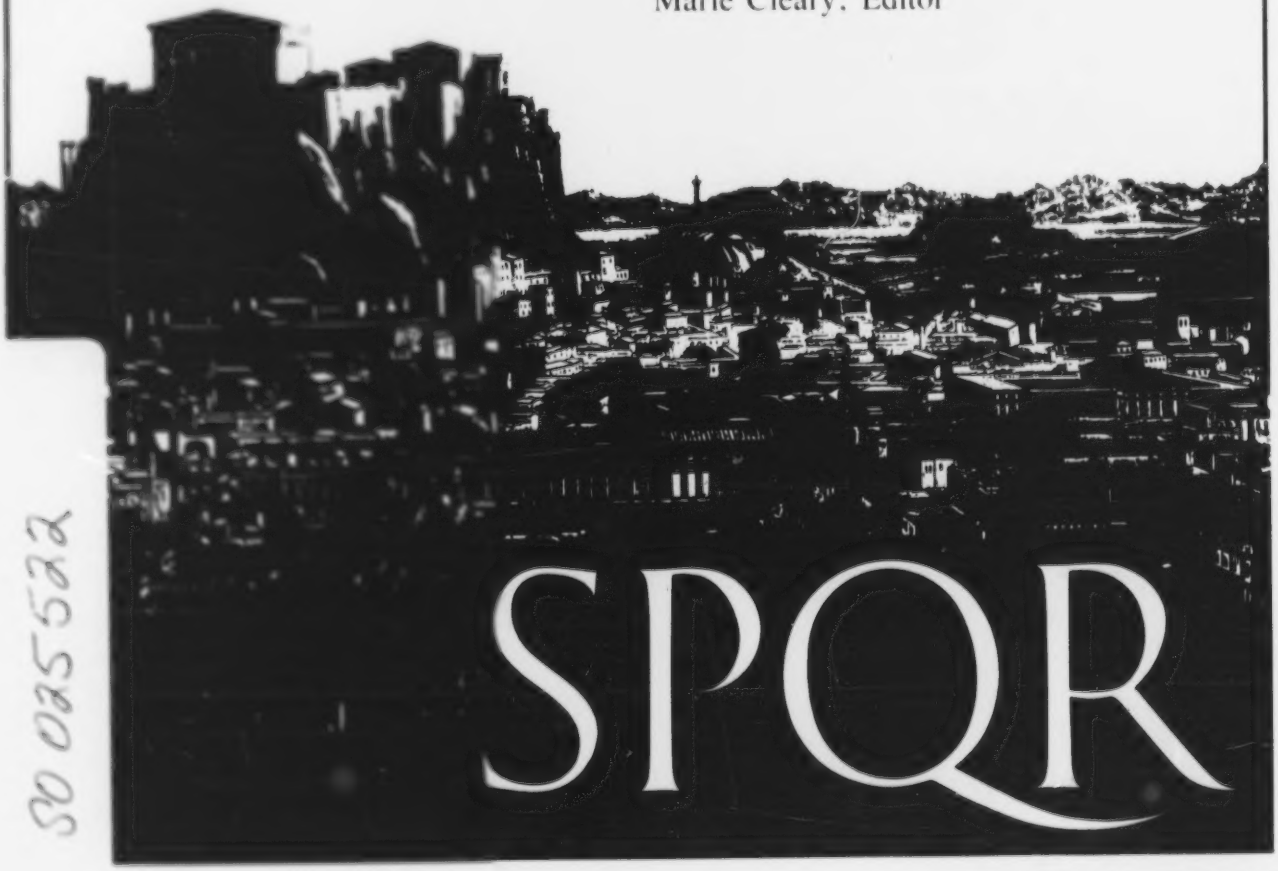
Marie Cleary, Editor



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TEACHING CLASSICAL POLITICAL THEORY AND THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IN HIGH SCHOOL LATIN AND SOCIAL STUDIES

Materials Based on the Institute
"Polis" and "Res Publica": Classical Political Theory and the U.S. Constitution

Sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities
and the College of the Holy Cross, 1988-89

Marie Cleary, Editor

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Cover design: Against a background of Athens and the Acropolis are the initials SPQR, the abbreviation for *Senatus populusque Romanus* ("the Senate and the Roman people"), customarily used by the Romans at the beginning of official proclamations.

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INTRODUCTIONS

INTRODUCTION:
The Teaching Component of the Institute

The Greek and Roman classics, because they are outstanding products of the human spirit and intellect, belong to all humankind. In a special sense, however, they belong to those who live in Western countries like our own. Western thought, which underlies our institutions, originated, to a considerable degree, in the thought of ancient Greek and Roman authors. We are especially indebted to these pioneering thinkers for their philosophic reflections about government. Philosophy, defined as the rational pursuit of truth about the universe, originated in ancient Athens, as did the branch of philosophy dealing with politics. Socrates was the first to apply philosophy to human affairs. He wrote nothing, but his student Plato did, while Plato's own greatest pupil, Aristotle, wrote the first treatises (as distinguished from dialogues) dedicated to the science of politics. In addition, Socrates' contemporary, the historian Thucydides, while not strictly a philosopher, laid, in a somewhat different manner, a foundation for the rational understanding of political life. The achievement of these great Athenians was further developed and elaborated in the Greco-Roman world by such authors as the philosopher-statesman Cicero, the biographer-essayist Plutarch, and the historians Polybius and Tacitus. Fortunately, many of the writings of these thinkers have endured to the present time, and thoughtful writers and statesmen of modern times have continued to find in them a source of inspiration and guidance.

Most of the leaders of the American founding era had gone to secondary school, many to college as well. Because, at each of these levels of education, the course of study then was based on classical languages and works, the men who framed our Constitution were used to thinking in terms of Greek and Roman precedents. This was abundantly true in matters of government. The politics of the ancient Greeks and Romans were of critical importance for eighteenth-century Americans because they provided the most prominent and long lived precedent for republican government—free or participatory self-ruling that had practically disappeared from the known world for many centuries after the fall of the Roman republic. Knowledge of the political problems faced by the ancient republics, and the causes and results of the decline of republicanism in the ancient world, contributed significantly to the Founders' ability to reflect on the political issues of their own era. While they embraced some classical authors more than others, and differed from the ancient philosophers in critical respects, their training in the study of classical writings on politics contributed significantly to their endeavor to promote free and just government.

Studying and thinking about politics is no less important today than it was in the eighteenth century. Students in American schools, future voters, need to know about the origins of democracy, for example, and the principles underlying the U.S. Constitution. Recent recommendations in the humanities, history, and social studies emphasize this fact.

Lynne V. Cheney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, in an overview of issues in humanities education today, argues for the primary importance, in spite of Americans' diverse ethnic origins, of the Western tradition which spawned democracy:

> ... life in the United States has been enriched by people of diverse cultural backrounds. But there are legacies we share, and primary among them is our democratic way of life. Understanding how democratic institutions have come into being, what sacrifices have been made to preserve them, what conditions will make them thrive—that is a civic glue binding us as a nation.[1]

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[1] Lynne V. Cheney in "A Conversation with ... NEH Chairman Lynne V. Cheney," *Humanities* 11.1 (January/February 1990): 6.

The Bradley Commisssion on History in Schools offers a similar view:

> Unlike many other peoples, Americans are not bound together by common religion or a common ethnicity. Instead, our binding heritage is a democratic vision of liberty, equality, and justice. If Americans are to preserve that vision and bring it to daily practice, it is imperative that all citizens understand how it was shaped in the past, what events and forces either helped or obstructed it, and how it has evolved down to the circumstances and political discourse of our time.[2]

The National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools in its 1989 report recommends instruction about U.S. government at all levels of schooling and singles out Grade 12 as the year for a course in the subject, since

> the final year in high school is the last opportunity teachers have to arouse youthful idealism, teach issues requiring students to exercise citizenship skills in a responsible manner and impress students with their civic duty to use the appropriate modes of inquiry to make reasoned judgments on all important public questions.

Students in such a course should be given "a good grasp of constitutional principles and the tensions between liberty and order, market capitalism and political equality." Also, "the gap between political theories and political behavior should be examined."[3]

For young Americans to understand the origins and principles of the democratic heritage that links them to one another, as is recommended in these statements, they need knowledge of the political thought of the Greeks and Romans. This study can help explain not only the past, but the present, as the ancient writings illuminate the difficulty of promoting justice and of developing the institutions and qualities needed to secure that end. There are, for example, immediately obvious connections between classical political thought and six of the "Thirteen Enduring Constitutional Issues" publicized in the recent Bicentennial of the Constitution, by Project '87. These issues are federalism, civil liberties, equality, separation of powers and the capacity to govern, avenues of representation, and constitutional change and flexibility.[4]

Yet in American secondary schools today, few young people have the chance to study the ancient classics on which American students once feasted their minds and souls. This is largely due to the fact that in the twentieth century, as public secondary education has grown, the former classical emphasis in the curriculum has all but died. The figures tell the story. At the turn of the century, 1899-1900, secondary school students (grades 9-12 and postgraduate) were only a small part (3.3 percent) of the total public school population. More than half of those attending (50.61 percent) studied Latin, and 2.65 percent, Greek (always studied far less than Latin in American schools); this was the case in spite of the fact that only 10.82 percent were preparing for college. By the 1980s, the situation had changed radically. Secondary school attendance accounted for 31.5 percent of the total school population in 1985, the most recent year for which foreign language enrollment figures are available. Only 1.4 percent of these students were enrolled in Latin classes,

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[2] Bradley Commission on History in Schools, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools* (Washington: Education Excellence Network, 1988), pp.1-2.

[3] National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, *Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century* (n.p., 1989), p. 18.

[4] For background about "Enduring Constitutional Issues," see the first issue of *this Constitution: A Bientennial Chronicle* (September 1983), p. 1. The periodical was published as part of the Contitution Bicentennial by Project '87 of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association.

and fewer than 1,000 students in Greek.[5] These figures indicate that most members of a mass high school audience do not choose Latin and Greek as subjects. The decline of percentages of students enrolled in Latin and Greek appears to reflect the growth of public secondary education, and, in light of that growth, the need to devise new ways of teaching classics to students not studying the ancient languages.

Only recently has the classical establishment bestirred itself to meet this challenge. A 1987 report, *The Classics in American Schools*, addresses the questions of how at the same time to instruct a Latinless mass audience in the ancient classics, and reinvigorate the study of Latin for those who choose it; the report emphasizes Latin as the main classical language to be studied, but gives some attention to Greek as well. The authors, calling to mind the viewpoints of Lynne Cheney and the Bradley commission, quoted above, begin by proclaiming the relevance of classical study to informed American citizenship, "because of America's unique historical roots and because of the preoccupation of Greek and Roman civilization with issues of political and moral choice." Further on in the report, a strong case is made for including in social studies material about Greek and Roman influences on United States government. Latin teachers are urged to teach more Greek and Roman culture, and to explore fresh ways of doing this.[6]

To affect high school social studies and Latin curricula in the ways mentioned above was the long-range goal of a 1988 national institute for high school teachers in these two fields. *"Polis" and "Res Publica": Classical Political Theory and the U.S. Constitution* took place July 10 - August 5, 1988 on the campus of the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts. A follow-up year in 1988-89 continued the work begun at the Institute. Major funding was provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities through its Division of Education Programs; Holy Cross College supplied the remainder of the funding. (A similar institute, having the same title, is being offered under NEH auspices at Holy Cross in 1990-91.)

The purpose of this booklet, *Teaching Classical Political Theory and the U.S. Constitution*, is to share with high school teachers of social studies and Latin, and others who are interested, some of the approaches developed by 1988-89 participants in teaching the Institute material as well as a review of the academic subject matter on which they based their teaching.

Such follow-up work would not have been possible without the intensive period of study that preceded it. David Schaefer, Co-Director with me of the Institute, in his Introduction immediately following this one, describes in detail the academic goals and subject matter of the Institute. His updated Bibliography and "Synopsis of Institute Lectures and Readings" are included in this booklet as Appendixes. Teachers reading this who wish to apply such material in their own classrooms are advised to begin the process with a period of study based on these materials. Those who want an introduction to, or a review of, the classical writers studied at the Institute will find, also in the Appendixes, my series of brief accounts, "Seven Classical Writers Known for Political Thought."

Throughout the period of rigorous intellectual activity in the 1988 summer program, we kept in mind the long-range pedagogical goals of the Institute. As expressed in our prospectus, these were "to enable the teachers who participate to convey to their students a deeper appreciation of the Constitution and, at the same time, to restore awarenes of the relevance of the classics to the most important human and political questions." To help actualize these goals, we selected thirty participants from thirteen states, representing all regions of the country. Two-thirds of the participants were in social studies, the other third in Latin. There

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[5] Figures for secondary school enrollment in Latin and Greek in 1899-1900 are in U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner on Education for the Year 1899-1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901) 2:2123. Figures for percentages of enrollment in secondary school as compared to the total public school population, and those for 1985 enrollments in Latin and Greek, are in U.S. Department of Education, *Digest of Education Statistics 1989, Twenty-fifth Edition*, by Thomas D. Snyder (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1989), pp. 45, 63.

[6] Mary Ann T. Burns and Joseph F. O'Connor, *The Classics in American Schools: Teaching the Ancient World*, American Philological Association pamphlets, no. 8 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), pp. 2, 16, 24-25.

were eight two-person teams (social studies and Latin teachers from the same school). Team applications had been encouraged because of the potential in this arrangement for interdisciplinary teaching and for mutual support during the follow-up year. Most participants had five or more years of experience in their teaching fields. Many had graduate degrees in the humanities or social sciences. The social studies-Latin partnership was reinforced by having on our staff a Teacher Consultant from each field, Virginia Ahart in social studies and William Gleason in Latin (both from Massachusetts). The two fields complement one another well. Latin teachers can benefit from social studies teachers' experience in teaching a large mandated subject and in teaching culture while social studies teachers, in planning their lessons and units in world, Western, and U.S. history, and in government, may profitably tap the classical background of their colleagues who teach Latin.

During the summer Institute, in the midst of a demanding schedule of reading and lectures, some time was set apart for activities related to the teaching which would take place during the coming school year. We did not presume to try to teach this group of seasoned teachers how to go about their work. What we did was provide resources of many kinds to facilitate later teaching—for example, a display of recently published classroom materials, many of them hard to locate, and information about national and regional professional organizations in the two teaching fields. As we had hoped, during the follow-up year, some cross-registration resulted, with social studies teachers joining organizations for Latin teachers and vice-versa. Most of all, we tried, in the pedagogical activities of the summer Institute, to inspire participants with a sense of mission about teaching the ancient classics, and to give them as much support as possible for the work this would entail.

In 1988-89, the follow-up year, four types of activity furthered the long-range Institute goal, the teaching of the Institute subject matter in high school social studies and Latin classes. These were: a bimonthly newsletter, a one-day demonstration inservice program sponsored by a school-college collaborative organization, panel presentations by staff and participants at four professional meetings in three states (Kentucky, Maryland, and Massachusetts), and a weekend reunion in June. An evaluation conducted in the spring, which included an assesment by participants of their students' reactions to lessons on Institute material, as well as a round-table discussion at the spring reunion, confirmed that the Institute subject matter could be incorporated into classroom teaching with positive results. (Most often cited as a difficulty in accomplishing this goal was the limitation on classroom time as compared with the wealth of the material.)

The approaches to teaching were as diverse as the teachers who took part in the Institute. Six participants (Joan Troegel and Wendall Zartman, a Latin/social studies team, social studies teachers Lolene Blake and Thomas Miller, and Latin teachers Sister Irene Charette and Linda Chester) have refined, for publication in this booklet, the teaching plans which they tested in their classrooms in 1988-89, and you will find them here. Other participants who did not choose to have their work published also developed imaginative units and lessons which they used during the follow-up year. Among those created by teachers of social studies were computer programs on the history of classical political thought (Marcus Evans of Texas and Janet McEacharn of Massachusetts); a set of self-contained lessons including one on classical themes in Thomas Nast's political cartoons (Russell Carrier of Massachusetts); a unit on the classical education of the Founders (Evelyn Coppola of Arkansas); and one on the Constitutional issue of separation of powers (R. B. Marshall of Michigan). Examples of Latin teachers' use of the material were a unit on classical influence in Charleston, South Carolina and on signers of the Constitution in that city (Nancy Scott of South Carolina), and a lesson on Plutarch's life of Cato the Younger during a unit on Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* (Brother John Sullivan of Massachusetts).

Teacher consultant for Latin, William Gleason, in a report for the 1988-89 newsletter, suggested several ways in which the Institute material fits into classroom situations in Latin courses such as Latin I, where a full unit may not be workable:

> Even in beginning classes, derivatives offer a springboard for short excursions. From *civis* (citizen) come "civic," "civil," "civilization"; an exploration of these meanings can include the importance of these words and concepts to the Founders. It interests some students that they are studying the same language which [early American leaders such as] Jefferson studied in their very different social and historical setting.

Gleason suggests that Latin and social studies teachers take over each other's classes for certain lessons—the former, for example, giving an overview of the ancient authors on which the Founders particularly relied, and the latter, comparing for Latin students the government structures of the United States with those of ancient Greece and Rome. In an approach similar to this, Latin teacher Daniel Matlack (Pennsylvania) attended classes during a unit, "The Constitution and Classical Political Thought," taught by his social studies teammate, Amy Wiemers.

Each teaching plan in this booklet is intended to supplement or complement a course in social studies or Latin or both. All are adaptable in whole or in part to both subject areas. Courses in social studies where teaching plans are applicable include world, Western, and U.S. history, and government. In the case of Latin, units in the Institute subject matter will fit best into courses beyond the introductory level where language, rather than culture, must be paramount. For application in Latin I, William Gleason's suggestions, as detailed above, will be useful. All the teaching plans presented here are meant to serve as examples of teaching the Institute material rather than programs to be followed step by step. Therefore, the time span suggested for each is approximate.

Many people helped the Institute first to become a reality and then to become a success. Thanks first of all should go to the Division of Education Programs of the National Endowment for the Humanities, both for funding the program and for support in the form of advice and suggestions. The College of the Holy Cross proved to be a hospitable setting in every way.

Special recognition goes to the Committee on the Classical Tradition in North America, of the American Philological Association, within which, in 1982, the idea of a summer program for teachers, on the Constitution and the classics, originated. Several past and present members of this committee were on the Institute staff.

Eva T. H. Brann, then a tutor at St. John's College (Annapolis) and now Dean of that college, who was one of our evaluators, commented in her report about the Institute, "Education always takes place in small, devoted places, and this was one of them." The devotion of our staff members and participants was the sine qua non of all our efforts. David Schaefer and I join in thanks to all of them.

Marie Cleary
Five Colleges, Inc. and
College of the Holy Cross

INTRODUCTION:
The Academic Component of the Institute

For several years Americans have participated in the celebration of the bicentennial of our Constitution. To celebrate the Constitution in a meaningful sense requires that we not only express our reverence for that document and our gratitude to its authors, however, but that we endeavor to attain a deeper understanding of the principles it embodies. As Americans continue to commemorate the bicentennial of that document, there is growing reason to doubt that the present generation of our youth is receiving the kind of education that will enable them to comprehend and appreciate, and hence to maintain, the principles on which that document rests. The danger is twofold. On the one hand, the teaching of American history and social studies at both the college and high school levels is increasingly dominated by a de-emphasis of Constitutional and political history, in favor of the study of social and economic history.[1] This change in emphasis goes hand-in-hand with a "debunking" orientation which seeks to explain the Constitution away as the product of economic interests or ideological biases, and which denies that the figures whom earlier generations were taught to regard as heroes (Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln) were truly worthy of such regard. On the other hand, the intellectual foundations of the tradition out of which the Constitution itself grew - the tradition of western political philosophy and historical inquiry - is itself being eroded both by a disposition to replace the study of Western history by a study of the variety of global "cultures," and by a doctrine of relativism which denies that the principles of natural right on which the Founders based their work can be said to have objective validity.[2]

The summer institute *"Polis" and "Res Publica": Classical Political Theory and the U.S. Constitution*, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and Holy Cross College in 1988, was intended as a step towards remedying these problems. We aimed to convey to a selected group of secondary school teachers of social studies and Latin a deeper understanding of the principles of American constitutionalism by enabling them to engage in a concentrated study of the relation between the Constitution and the teachings of a number of the most prominent classical political philosophers and historians. This particular theme was chosen as a means of fostering a critical appreciation of the Constitution. That is, the Institute emphasized the particular achievement of the Founders by showing how they aimed to remedy the characteristic defects of classical republican politics, and it sought at the same time to indicate possible limitations of that achievement by uncovering those elements of the classical teaching that had to be de-emphasized or even suppressed to make liberal republicanism possible. Our goal was to enable the teachers both to convey a deeper appreciation of the Constitution to their students, and to restore awareness of the relevance of the classics to the most important human and political questions.

The principles on which the Constitution rests are largely presupposed, rather than explained, in the document itself. For their elaboration, we can turn, of course, to the chief writings of the Founders, including the records of the Constitutional Convention, the *Federalist* essays, and works by such other influential American statesmen as Jefferson and Adams. But these writings, in turn, ultimately point beyond

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[1] See, on this theme, Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), chap. 1, "History with the Politics Left Out."

[2] It is not our intent to deny the value or importance of the study of non-Western cultures, but to emphasize the centrality of the Western intellectual tradition for Americans, who - whatever their ethnic background - live under a Constitution that derives from the Western tradition. It is noteworthy that even the arguments typically made for "de-Westernizing" the academic curriculum rely on political concepts such as pluralism that derive from the Western, and American Constitutional, political tradition.

themselves: to the European tradition of political philosophy, which decisively shaped the Founders' understanding of the goals of political life and the means of attaining them.

The political philosophers who most directly and powerfully influenced the Founders were the pre-eminent liberal theorists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Locke and Montesquieu.[3] The first *Federalist* paper indeed advertises the "modernity" of the Founders' project, by remarking that "it seems to have been reserved by the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice."[4] Yet, alongside this emphasis on the novelty of the Founding, and despite the political *practice*, there is evident in the Founders' thought a powerful strand of admiration for classical republicanism, and of insights gained from the study of the classics. (This fact is made manifest by the pseudonyms adopted by the authors of *The Federalist* and by many other contributors to the debate on ratification of the Constitution). One of the leading historians of the Founding period, Gordon S. Wood, has observed that classical antiquity was the "universally acknowledged" source of "republican inspiration" for both English and American Whigs; to the latter, in particular, it appeared that the "Latin writers in their literature of critical lamentation and republican nostalgia had spoken directly to the revolutionary concerns of the eighteenth century."[5]

The relation between the "modern" and "classical" elements of the Founders' political reflections appears to have been as follows. On the one hand, practically all of them (Federalists and Anti-Federalists alike) shared the modern, liberal view that the *purpose* of government should be limited to securing the individual rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" specified in the Declaration of Independence - rather than aiming, as pre-modern governments had typically done, at some higher good (virtue, national glory, or religious salvation). On the other hand, in their choice of a "strictly republican" *form* of government - reflecting what the *Federalist* terms an "honorable determination ... to rest all our political experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government"[6] - the Founders evinced a concern for *political* liberty as an independent good, rather than merely as a means to securing individual or private goods.[7] Self-

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[3] The "Lockean" character of the Founding has been questioned by Garry Wills in his *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978). Wills's argument has, however, been impressively challenged by several scholars, including Gary Schmitt, Harry V. Jaffa, and Kenneth S. Lynn. See Schmitt, "Sentimental Journey: Garry Wills and the American Founding," *The Political Science Reviewer*, Vol. 12 (1982), pp. 99-128; Jaffa, "Inventing the Past," in *American Conservatism and the American Founding* (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1984), pp. 76-109; Lynn, "Falsifying Jefferson," in *The Air-Line to Seattle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 9-22.

[4] Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, *The Federalist*, ed. Clinton Rossiter (New York: New American Library, 1961), no. 1, p. 33.

[5] Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 49, 51.

[6] *Federalist* no. 39, p. 240.

[7] This element of the Founders' thought is well developed in David F. Epstein, *The Political Theory of "The Federalist"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Contrary to the widespread view of twentieth century "revisionist" historians that the Constitution represented a "conservative" reaction against the "democratic" principles of the Declaration of Independence, the late Martin Diamond observed that the Declaration itself embodies little or no guidance with respect to the proper *form* of government; it is by devising and ratifying the Constitution that Americans made the choice a republican, or (in the broad

government was seen by the Founders, in other words, as a reflection of the dignity of man, reflecting his status as a rational and morally responsible being. It is in this respect, above all, that the influence of the classics on them can be noted.

To be sure, the sort of republic that the Founders created differed considerably from the classical republics - through its embodiment of various discoveries made by the modern "science of politics," such as the principle of checks and balances, and above all through its exclusive reliance on representation, as distinguished from the direct participation of the people "in their collective capacity" in the government.[8] Yet the Founders appreciated that popular government, even in this modified form, still presupposed a considerable degree of moral character, or "virtue," among the general populace, as well as among those elected to represent them. This appreciation is evident, for instance, in James Madison's remark before the Virginia ratifying convention that it would be "chimerical" to "suppose that any form of government will secure liberty or happiness without any virtue in the people," and by John Marshall's observation in the same assembly that "a free people ought never to depart" from the maxim of "a steady adherence to virtue."[9] It is in their recognition of the dependence of republican government on popular virtue, as well as in their recognition of the choice of the republican form itself, that the Founders most closely approach the thought of the classical writers on politics. But - precisely because of the tension between their appreciation of the need for virtue and their limitation of the role of government for the sake of securing individual liberty rather than virtue - it is in this respect that the Founders' project may seem most deeply problematic. As Thomas Pangle has observed, " [a] survey of the chief moral-educative devices advocated by the classical republican tradition [such as titles of nobility, fixed qualifications for office holders, sumptuary laws, and an established, civil religion] reveals that almost all are excluded from the American system" by the Constitution itself.[10] Particularly in an age when it is common to decry the growing disposition of Americans to focus on self-gratification rather than on duty to family, country, and/or God, we are compelled to wonder whether the Founders made adequate provision for the perpetuation of the moral qualities on which they themselves recognized the preservation of political liberty to depend.

It is in this connection, especially, that the study of the classics in their relation to the Constitution may serve to illuminate our understanding of the principles and problems that that document embodies, equipping us both better to appreciate the peculiar genius of our form of government, and to recognize the root of its characteristic difficulties. From the writings of the classical historians, we learn of the particular dangers to which popular governments have historically been prone, and come to appreciate the considerable force of the *Federalist's* argument that the turbulence of the classical republics reflected an inadequacy in their design. At the same time, however, such writers as Plutarch and Thucydides convey models of the heights of nobility sometimes achieved by the ancient republics, seemingly alien to the mores of modern, commercial societies, yet still possessing the capacity to move our souls, as they moved the men of the Founding generation. The awareness of the possibilities of heroic political action and formative statemanship that we acquire from such authors may be a necessary antidote, as Allan Bloom has argued, to the tendency (noted by Tocqueville) for men in democratic ages to underestimate the capacity for

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sense) "democratic" regime as the particular means of securing the rights specified in the Declaration. See Diamond, *The Founding of the Democratic Republic* (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1981), pp. 3-9.

[8] *Federalist* no. 9, pp. 72-3; no. 63, p. 387.

[9] Both cited by Thomas Pangle in "Federalists and the Idea of 'Virtue,' " *this Constitution*, no. 5 (Winter, 1984), p. 19. See also the passage from *Federalist* no. 84, cited *ibid.*; and John Adams' letter to Mercy Warren of April 16, 1776, regarding the dependence of public virtue and private virtue.

[10] Pangle, op. cit., p. 25

individual accomplishment, and to fall victim to "theories" that subjugate individual action and responsibility to blind historical "forces."[11] At a deeper level, the pre-eminent classical political philosophers - above all, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero - broaden our horizons, by teaching us to recognize not only the variety of possible political forms, and their characteristic strengths and defects, but also to appreciate the *permanent* political problems, which are rooted in the continuity of human nature itself. Such an appreciation is an invaluable counterpoise to the utopian spirit characteristic of our times, which sometimes inspires thoughtless denunciations of the Constitutional system itself on account of its failure to engender a "solution" to all problems.[12]

One of the "paradoxes" of education in America, as Eva Brann has pointed out, is that "[t]he Founders sometimes unwittingly and sometimes explicitly repudiated" the study of the classical tradition even though it was an education in that tradition that equipped them to undertake their deliberate yet daring enterprise. She adds, however, that since "insight into origins is essential to a citizen," "even the nature of the Founding becomes inaccessible once the tradition is subverted."[13] In order to fulfill our role as citizens of a self-governing republic, we need both to recapture the intentions underlying our institutions, and to see those institutions in the light of the most serious alternative that Western civilization has produced, the teachings of the classical political philosophers and historians. Our institute aimed to promote that goal.

David L. Schaefer
College of the Holy Cross

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[11] Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), p. 256; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. II, Part I, chaps. 2-4, 7, 20.

[12] See, on this issue, Irving Kristol, "Utopianism, Ancient and Modern," in *Two Cheers for Capitalism* (New York: New American Library, 1979), pp.143-59.

[13] Brann, *Paradoxes of Education in a Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 20-21.

FIVE APPROACHES TO TEACHING CLASSICAL POLITICAL THEORY AND THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

Ed. note: For the teaching plans included in this section, works in each case listed under *Readings*, which were among the required readings for the Institute, are given without publication information. Full information about these may be found on the first page of David Schaefer's bibliography in the Appendixes. In the case of a work by a Greek or Roman author, for which no publication information is given, the Loeb Classical Library edition (Harvard University Press) is recommended. I have avoided using footnotes. However, exact locations of information are fully credited in the text of each teaching plan or listed under *Readings*.

A TEAM APPROACH:
The Classical Concept of Civic Virtue in the Modern World

Joan Troegel, Teacher of Latin
Wendall Zartman, Teacher of Social Studies
Mirabeau B. Lamar High School
Houston, Texas

Subjects: Latin II and U.S. History

Level: Grades 10, 11

Connections with textbook:

The topics studied in the unit relate to material generally found in Latin textbooks at two levels: legends of early Rome (Latin I); and history of the Roman Republic (Latin II). In social studies, material in the unit relates to the study of the Founding Period, or of the U.S. Constitution in and of itself.

Length of unit: Two weeks

Readings:

Lucilius. Fragment. In W. Y. Sellar (ed.), *The Roman Poets of the Republic* (1889), p. 246. Original Latin is included.

Paine, Thomas. *The Life and Works of Thomas Paine*. Edited by William M. Van der Weyde. Vol. 6: *Rights of Man*. New Rochelle: Thomas Paine National Historical Association, 1925, p. 154.

Plutarch. Life of Lycurgus. In *Plutarch on Sparta*. Translated by Richard J. A. Talbert. New York: Penguin Books, 1988, pp. 8-46.

Polybius. *Histories* 6.

Reinhold, Meyer. "The American Interpretation of Classical Virtue." *Humanities* 8 (January/February 1987): pp. 4-7.

Storing, Herbert, ed.. *The Complete Anti-Federalist*.

Tappan, Eva March. *The Story of the Roman People*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1938.

Thucydides. *The Peloponnesian War* 2: 35-46.

Introduction

Mirabeau B. Lamar High School in Houston is an urban school of approximately 2400 students. We are teachers of Latin and social studies at Lamar, and between us we have thirty-five years of teaching experience. For several years, we have worked together in various ways, for example, in chaperoning student tours to Italy and Greece. We are chairpersons of our respective departments, share similar duties, and attend similar meetings. Several teachers at Lamar High School are members of both our departments. It seemed natural to us to attend the 1988 Institute as a team.

The overall goal of the Institute was "to enable the teachers who participate to convey to their students a deeper appreciation of the Constitution and, at the same time, to restore awareness of the relevance of the classics to the most important human and political questions." After attending the daily lectures delivered

by leading scholars in classics and political science and after reading classical texts at the Institute, we began to formulate an interdisciplinary unit in which we could present this material to our combined Latin II and American History classes in a two-week period.

It became increasingly clear to us during the Institute that the Founding Fathers, when faced with the awesome task of writing a Constitution for their fledgling nation, searched for models upon which to base a new set of institutions. Being well grounded in the classics, they naturally investigated the ancient republics of Greece and Rome. Some aspects of these republics were discarded, and others retained, as the Founders constructed the new republic. One aspect of the ancient republics which caused controversy and debate among the Founders was the concept of civic virtue which emphasizes the necessity and primacy of one's duty to the state.

Reflections on this concept led us to the question which underlies our teaching plan—has the classical idea of civic virtue—duty to the state, working for the common good—changed through the ages, resulting in a situation in which, now, a greater emphasis is placed on individual rights and freedoms of citizens?

Approximately one hundred eleventh-grade American History and Latin II students participated in our two-week unit. At times we team-taught each other's classes, and at other times American History and Latin II classes were combined. Students' enthusiasm for both subjects was enhanced, as they recognized not only the interplay and overlapping between the two, but also their relevency to life today—for example, at election time.

Ours were honor students, but we believe that this unit can be adapted and modified to fit the needs of average students. Regardless of the level of student ability and achievement, extra backround may be necessary to prepare the group. For example, one might choose to begin the unit with an introductory lecture or lectures on the Greek and Roman republics. Film strips, timelines, and maps will help here.

The Teaching Plan

We began by investigating the concept of civic virtue as defined and illustrated in the texts of classical authors. Gaius Lucilius (about 180 - 102 B.C.) was a poet of the late Roman Republic. Although he was not one of the writers read at the Institute, we liked the Roman tone of his definition of virtue, and used it as a framework for our discussion of classical ideas of virtue:

> It is virtue to be able to make the due return for things with which one deals, amid which one lives; it is virtue for a man to know what each thing means, what is right and useful and honorable, what things are good, likewise what things are evil, what useless, shameful, dishonorable; it is virtue to know the limit and boundary of seeking, to know the true value of wealth, to give to office what is its due; to be the enemy in public and private of evil men and customs, on the other hand a protector of men and customs that are good, to praise them, to wish them well, to live as a friend to them; finally to place first the advantage of the fatherland, second that of one's parents, third and last that of one's self.

After a discussion of Lucilius' definition, we guided our students through readings about characters whom the Romans considered heroic, as revealed by the accounts which Eva March Tappan has adapted from Livy and Plutarch. Students read the moving tale of Brutus, one of the Republic's first consuls, who sentenced his two sons to death for conspiring to restore the monarchy. They also read accounts of Horatius' and Cincinnatus' actions to save their nation from enemies. Students then were able better to pinpoint the qualities that made these men, according to the Roman view, "virtuous."

This activity was followed by a study and discussion of another set of readings, this time focusing on the structure of the Athenian and Spartan forms of government. Students viewed filmstrips on Greek civilization which compared and contrasted those forms and a discussion followed. They then read the Funeral Oration of Pericles in Thucydides (2. 35-46) and the life of Lycurgus by Plutarch. They compared the contrasting views of virtue in Athens and Sparta. After this, they read exerpts of Roman laws and the description of the Roman constitution in Polybius (*Histories*, Book VI).

At this point, students reviewed the Enlightenment and the writers of that era, along with their political theories. Having examined the classical writings, students, now familiar with the classical emphasis on the necessity and primacy of duty to the fatherland, realized that it was the Enlightenment which introduced a turning point in Western political thought. Political philosophers of that time period introduced a current of thought counter to that of the ancients. The Enlightenment philosophers advocated the legitimacy and primacy of individual rights and freedoms. The writings of Montesquieu in *The Spirit of the Laws* (Books XI and XII) and John Locke (Book II, chaps. 1-2) illustrated this concept.

Having read and analyzed writings of the Enlightenment philosophers, students were able to select from a list of political ideas those which could readily be identified as belonging to those thinkers. Given the American Declaration of Independence to read, students were able to identify the ideas of Enlightenment philosophers which are in that document.

At this point, students were introduced to the work of the Constitutional Convention. They realized that there were many arguments and conflicts dividing the Founding Fathers. One topic on which there was disagreement was citizens' rights versus citizens' responsibilities. This argument continued after the conclusion of the convention and throughout the ratification process. It was highlighted in *The Federalist* and in the writings of the Antifederalists, especially in the letters from Agrippa and the letter from "A Friend to the Rights of the People." The crux of the argument was the desirability of including a Bill of Rights in the newly written Constitution, and the question whether that Bill of Rights should include a listing of responsibilities of the people, along with their rights. Our students engaged in lively discussions about this issue.

We then presented Meyer Reinhold's article, "The American Interpretation of Classical Virtue." This piece demonstrates vividly the classical foundations of our Constitution, as these relate to the question of rights versus responsibilities, and the role of classical precedents in the Founders' thinking.

The students, upon examining the Bill of Rights, had realized that this document is indeed a listing of rights rather than responsibilities. We pointed out what Thomas Paine later wrote upon the occasion of the French Revolution:

> While the declaration of rights was before the National Assembly, some of its members remarked that if a declaration of rights was published it should be accompanied by a declaration of duties. The observation discovered a mind that reflected, and it only erred by not reflecting far enough. A declaration of rights is, by reciprocity, a declaration of duties also. Whatever is my right as a man, is also the right of another; and it becomes my duty to guarantee, as well as to possess.

As an extension of our theme, we brought it into modern times. To illustrate this, we played a recording of John F. Kennedy's innaugural address in which he called upon Americans to ask what they could do for their country instead of merely asking what their country could do for them. The unit was first presented in the final months of the 1988 presidential election campaign. To close our lesson, students listened to and read the speeches and campaign remarks of the presidential candidates. They were asked to note whether the candidates addressed the issue of civic virtue. Students kept a journal about candidates' speeches and remarks, selecting their evidence from major periodicals and national newscasts. After the election, students submitted their journals and also wrote essays upon the evidence they had submitted. More often than not, they found that the candidates skirted the issue of civic virtue.

Because throughout their course work, students often remarked on a political leader's emphasis or lack of emphasis on civic virtue, we believe that this teaching plan is especially suitable for any time period when elections, national or local, are in the news. Such a unit introduces students to one way of measuring interest in the public good om the part of leaders of any locality during any time period.

We are proud to relate that our unit has been accepted by the IMPACT II program of the Houston Independent School District. IMPACT II was adopted in Houston to enable teachers in the district to share successful clasroom programs with each other.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION IN EARLY AMERICA

Lolene Blake
Longmeadow High School
Longmeadow, Massachusetts

Subjects: United States History (Colonial and Revolutionary Periods)

Level: Grade 10

Length of unit: Four weeks

Readings:

Commager, Henry Steele. "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World: A Study in Paradox." In *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 83 (1971). Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1972, pp. 3-15.

Gummere, Richard M. "Colonial Reactions to a Classical Education." In *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Comparative Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 55-75.

Hamilton, Madison and Jay. *The Federalist*.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*. Chapter 3 of *Grandfather's Chair*, Vol. VI. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1972, pp. 81-85.

Mather, Cotton. "An Elegy on Ezekiel Cheever." In Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans*. New York: American Book Company, 1938, pp. 722-24.

Miller, John C. "Education." In *The First Frontier*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1966.

Plutarch, "Lycurgus." In *Plutarch on Sparta*.

Reinhold, Meyer. "The Cult of Antiquity in America." In *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984, pp. 23-49.

Tacitus. *Annals* 1-6.

Todd, Lewis Paul and Merle Curti. *Triumph of the American Nation*. Chaps. 5, 6, 7. Chicago: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1986.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*, II. i, chap. 15.

Classical Education in Early America

Longmeadow is a residential town adjacent to Springfield, Massachusetts and Enfield, Connecticut; it has a population of 16,000. The public high school is geared to college preparation and has a student enrollment of 955 in grades 9-12. Approximately 90 percent of the students who graduate from Longmeadow High School continue their education at four-year colleges, universities, and degree-granting junior colleges. Advanced Placement and Honors courses are offered in many subject areas. As a member of the History Department at the high school, my teaching assignments include an Advanced Placement course in European History for seniors and an Early American History course for sophomores. I have taught at Longmeadow High School for twenty years.

One of the questions my students ask most frequently is: "Why study history?". The unit below is planned to demonstrate that the study of the past—in particular, the history of ancient Greece and Rome—affected the thinking of many American leaders, including the men who founded the nation. Throughout

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Greek and Roman classics were the basic subject matter in both secondary schools and colleges where many leaders in the society had studied. At those levels of education, the largest part of the secondary curriculum was classical, consisting of the history of ancient Greece and Rome, along with the literatures, in the original languages, of those civilizations. The role of education in preparing leaders is evident, as Richard M. Gummere relates, in the number of college graduates among the signers of the Declaration of Independence (twenty-seven out of fifty-six) and the Constitution (twenty-three out of thirty-nine).

In *Classica Americana*, Meyer Reinhold describes the secondary school classical curriculum:

> The list of classical authors first encountered by American school boys, in the grammar schools, was determined both by tradition and by the admission requirements of the colleges, especially Harvard. . . . In the stay of seven years in the grammar schools (until Boston Latin School in 1789 reduced its program to four years), students were prepared for college principally through the medium of the classics. The curriculum varied little throughout the eighteenth century; the principal authors read were: "Cato"s' *Distichs;* Aesop's *Fables;* Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Tristia;* Cicero's orations, letters, and *De Officiis;* Florus (or Eutropius or Justin); Vergil's *Aeneid;* Horace; Terence; Homer; Isocrates; Xenophon's *Memorabilia.* These, and some others reserved for the college level, were the books James Madison called "the common list of School classics."

What were the benefits of classical education to the leaders of American society, including many of the Founders? Henry Steele Commager, in his essay, "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World: A Study in Paradox" asks the question in this way: "What did the historical and moral world of Greece and Rome have to offer Americans of the 18th century, or what did Americans think it had to offer?" His answer is that the world of Greece and Rome provided Americans with "three different though connected reservoirs: one of antecedent practices and institutions, one of historical events and personalities, and one of moral lessons." Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* (Vol. II, Ch. 15) explains that in a democratic nation the study of ancient literature, which was composed at leisure by aristocrats, is better suited than any other to combat the literary defects inherent in democracy (faults resulting, for example, from writing in haste and in the midst of mundane activities).

Students taking part in the unit *Classical Education in Early America*, through a combination of reading, research analysis, and role-playing will better understand some of the ways in which the study of the past may be applied to the present.

The Teaching Plan

Weeks One and Two:

1. Background Readings (see *Readings*).
2. Brief paper outlining the findings of the research
   To complete this paper, students will answer the study questions on the reading selections (see questions below).

Weeks Three and Four:

1. Students may work in teams of two. Within each team, one student will play a role and the other will act as the interviewer. They will collaborate on questions for the interview. More than one team may do any two of the following roles:

   a. A colonial teenager
   b. Master Ezekiel Cheever
   c. James Madison
   d. Alexander Hamilton
   e. Reporter/Interviewer

   The role playing will be structured as: "A Conversation With. . . ."

Study Questions (answers to be included in the paper assigned for Weeks One and Two)

1. For chapter, "Education," in John C. Miller
   a) Discuss the Puritan concept of education. Why was education so important to the Puritans?
   b) What was the significance of the founding of Harvard College in 1636?
   c) Explain the Puritan idea, "Unless school and college flourish, church and state cannot live."

2. For Hawthorne and Mather
   a) After reading "An Elegy on Ezekiel Cheever" and "Grandfather's Chair," write a brief description of Master Cheever.
   b) Would you like to have been a student in Master Cheever's classroom? Why or why not?

3. For Tocqueville
   How does de Tocqueville defend his belief that the study of Greek and Latin literature is peculiarly useful in democratic communities?

4. For "Lycurgus" in Plutarch
   Lucurgus was regarded as the model of a good ruler. Sparta, under his leadership, succeeded in the best "Spartan" tradition. What might a colonial student learn about the process of governing from a study of Plutarch's life of Lycurgus?

5. For Reinhold
   a) How does Early American secondary curriculum reflect classical education?
   b) How many of the subjects included in the colonial schools are taught at Longmeadow High School today?

6. For Tacitus
   Thomas Jefferson spoke of Tacitus as his favorite writer. With respect to good and bad leadership, what might he have learned from this reading?

7. For *The Federalist* 8
   How is Hamilton's discussion of the effects of a standing army on the internal disunity of the new nation reflected in the Constitution (see Article 1, Section 8, nos. 12-16 and Amendment 3)?

8. For *The Federalist* 48
   What is Madison's concern about the tendency of legislatures to usurp the power of other branches? How is his praise for a system of checks and balances reflected in the Constitution (see Articles 1, 2, 3)?

9. For *The Federalist* 10
   Outline, briefly, Madison's analysis of factions — their nature, causes and effects — as the price of liberty. What structure for the Union does he suggest as a remedy for the problem of republican government?

"VIRTUS" AND "PIETAS": Foundations of Citizenship in a Republic

Sister Irene Charette, Teacher of Latin and French
Villa Angela Academy
Cleveland, Ohio

Subject: Latin II

Level: Grades 10, 11, 12

Connections with textbook:

This unit relates to material generally found in Latin textbooks at three levels: legends of early Rome (Latin I); history of the Roman Republic (Latin II); the orations of Cicero against Catiline (Latin III). In social studies, material in the unit relates to the study of the Founding Period, or of the U.S. Constitution in and of itself.

Length of Unit: Two weeks

Readings (for specific readings, see lesson plans in unit):

Cicero. *Ad Catilinam (Speeches against Lucius Sergius Catiline).*
_____. *De Officiis (On Moral Duties).*
_____. *De Re Publica* and *De Legibus (Republic* and *Laws).*
Diamond, Martin. *The Founding of the Democratic Republic.*
Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. *The Federalist.*
International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1965 ed., Vol. 11. s.v. "Natural Law," by Leo Strauss.
Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita (From the Founding of the City).*
Locke, John. "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding" and "Concerning Civil Government, Second Essay." In *Great Books of the Western World.* Robert Maynard Hutchins, Editor. Vol. 35. Chicago: Encyclopedia Brittanica, Inc., 1952.
Sallust. *Bellum Catilinae (The War With Catiline).*

Villa Angela, where I teach, is a comprehensive Catholic secondary school for girls, located within the city of Cleveland. 60 percent of the 420 young women who attend the school are from the city; the remaining students are bussed to our urban campus from neighboring communities.

Every student at Villa Angela studies foreign languages, regardless of the track she is pursuing. Four years of Latin, French, and Spanish are available. Students who elect Latin come from all ability groups, general academic through honors. Each year approximately twenty to twenty-five students enroll in second-year Latin, the level where this unit has been taught. Usually more than half of these go on to the third and fourth levels of Latin. Because we do not discourage students from studying Latin, the classes are heterogeneous. This seems to enhance the learning of all students, whatever their abilities.

The topic of this four-phase unit is a comparison between the Roman values of *"virtus"* (weer-toose) and *"pietas"* (pee-eh-tahse) and the American Founders' idea of good citizenship. The lessons of the unit revolve around these two simplified definitions:

Virtus: moral excellence derived from wisdom (i.e. study), and service to mankind

Pietas: the fulfillment of one's own duties to a society of reasoning beings; the sharing of one's excellence with society

The unit is designed for sophomores and for an approximate two-week period late in the school year; this time has been chosen because some of the subject matter leads directly into third-year Latin for students going on to that course where Cicero is commonly taught. It also leads into the junior year social studies course of American History. For Latin students who will not go on to third-year Latin, the study of Cicero in this unit gives them an opportunity to become acquainted with this major figure in Western history and literature. For social studies students in U.S. History (or government) classes, the Latin readings used for this unit might be assigned in English translation, giving these students the same opportunity to become acquainted with Cicero's thought.

The unit is divided into four phases; each phase consists of as many class meetings as an individual teacher decides to devote to it. The phases are:

1. An introduction to the qualities of *virtus* and *pietas* as Cicero describes them
2. A review of these qualities as illustrated by Livy in tales of early Rome typically read in Latin I, and also in the story of Numa (usually new to Latin II students), the second King of Rome
3. Study of reasons for the decline of the Roman Republic, i.e. weakening of *virtus* and *pietas*
4. Comparing of the American Founders' perception of good citizenship in a republic with the Roman concept of this quality

Learning objectives, stated at the outset of the unit, are:

1. Students will become acquainted with *virtus* and *pietas* as interpreted by Cicero and Livy.
2. Students will become acquainted with the Lockean theory of citizenship and note the differences between that and the ancient concept.
3. Students will examine the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and one essay from *The Federalist*, in light of the ancient concept of civic virtue, to note differences as expressed in the American readings.
4. Students will enjoy reading, story telling, and declaiming in Latin; they will read from both Latin and English sources and will discuss their perceptions.

An outline of the unit follows.

Phase One

Topic: *Virtus* and *pietas* as Cicero defined these qualities

Objective: Students will reflect on the meanings of these terms and will enjoy an imaginary dialogue between Cicero and his son Marcus. (Cicero adapted for many of his philosophical works the dialogue format used by Greek philosophers such as Plato. In this format philosophical issues are debated by members of a group. I chose this format as my lesson plan and found that it immediately engaged the class's interest).

Resources: Readings from Cicero, *De Legibus* I:v-vii; I:xliii; Cicero, *De Re Publica:* I:ii; I:xvii-xviii; II:xii-xiv; Cicero, *De Officiis:* I:iv; I:vi-vii; I:xix-xxii; II:xv.

Classroom Activities: To open this phase of the unit, the teacher, wearing a toga and bearing a scroll, plays the role of Cicero. A student, prepared ahead of time, also in costume, plays Cicero's son, Marcus. Class members play the roles of Marcus's classmates in a Roman school. The famous statesman is visiting his son's class, to give his views on virtue, honor, and devotion to duty. The son asks questions about these qualities, which his father answers. Marcus's classmates enter into

the discussion by asking for clarifications or asking more questions. At the end of class, students receive a handout containing definitions of *virtus* and *pietas*, names of some Romans who exemplified these virtues, and quotations from Cicero on Natural Law and virtue (see Appendix to this section for this handout).

Phase Two

Topic: *Virtus* and *pietas* as exemplified in stories of early Rome

Objective: Students will review the stories of Horatius, Mucius Scaevola, Cincinnatus, and Tarpeia as previously read in Latin I in selections adapted from the Roman historian Livy, and compare the virtues emphasized in these stories with the qualities of Numa the second King of Rome, whose story is also narrated by Livy.

Resources: Livy I:xvi-xx (typed handout—Latin for the Latin class, English for the social studies class)

Classroom Activities: Students will listen to a description (in Latin or English) of Numa, acquiring a sense of his goodness, and then, another description, a dramatic reading in English, of the period of the interregnum and the choice of Numa as king. Students will have an opportunity for questions and discussion. In order to spark discussion, they will be given sample questions, to provide a catalyst, if needed, for the dialogue. Characters in stories of early Rome, such as those mentioned above, usually studied in Latin I, will be recalled and compared with Numa, with respect to portrayal of virtues.

Phase Three

Topic: Decline of the Roman Republic (and of traditional civic virtue)

Objective: Students will be introduced to the famous traitor Catiline and discuss him as the personification of the declining Republic.

Resources: Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*; Cicero, *Ad Catilinam*

Classroom Activities: Readings may be done either in class or as assigned readings done in preparation for class. Discussion will center on the question, "How does Catiline show himself lacking in *virtus* and *pietas*?"

Phase Four

Topic: Comparison of the American Founders' view of civic virtue with the Roman view of this quality

Objective: Students will conclude whether or not Americans (as demonstrated in the writings of the Founders and in modern American life) prize the virtues described by the Romans as *virtus* and *pietas*.

Resources: Martin Diamond, *The Founding of the Democratic Republic*, pp. 62-68; selections from the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights; selections from *Federalist One* (teacher-made photocopies for use in class); John Locke, *Second Treatise*, Chapter II: 4-6; John Locke, *Concerning Human Understanding*, Book I, Chapter II: 6-14

Classroom Activities: Silent reading, including highlighting of words and phrases by students, which they will later use to support their arguments; listing of expressions which pertain to virtue; discussion based on guideline questions such as "How important is it for the public to have a voice in government?" "What is the value of moderation?", and "Why are ambition and avarice dangerous to good government?" Other questions, leading to a comparison of Roman and American writings, might include, for example, "What would Cicero say about the ratification of the U.S. Constitution?" and "What precautions would he have advised Americans to take in ratifying the Constitution?"

The culmination of the unit is the demonstration, on the students' part, of the contrast between ancient Roman ideas about *virtus* and *pietas* and the American idea of civic virtue, as evident in the Constitution. Students will discuss with the teacher what they have learned. They will then do a written evaluation of the unit for the benefit of the teacher and of students who will be given this same course the following year.

Student reaction to this unit was affirmative. They enjoyed the story-telling which always preceded the reading assignments (accompanied by teacher-prepared cartoons on the overhead projector). The students were surprised at their ability to read Latin without too much deciphering and grammatical analysis. The longer philosophical passages in translation followed by discussions whetted their appetites for some higher thinking. Students were proud to say they were doing advanced readings and boasted to their peers that they were "into philosophy." It was a joy to the teacher to see them engage in a dialogue with "Cicero." Because they engaged him in lengthier dialogue than "he" anticipated, "he" was forced to return a second day in order to bring the proposed lesson to closure. Upon completion of this unit, two students said they had asked their parents for a traslation of some of Cicero's works for their birthdays. Another asked for a good Latin-English Dictionary. These students truly enjoyed learning.

APPENDIX (Material for Phase One of Unit)

Definitions:

PIETAS, -tatis (f) — dutifulness toward the gods, one's parents, native country, and benefactors.

Pietas is filial piety, gratitude, patriotism (Cicero).
Pietas is justice, kindness, compassion (Virgil).

VIRTUS, -tutis (f) — human excellence.

Virtus is moral excellence, valour, bravery (Cicero and Caesar).
Virtus is courage and resolution in the face of difficulties (Tacitus).

Cicero: Natural Law and Virtue

Civil Law as seen by Cicero in *De Legibus* is an offspring of Natural Law and intimately related to justice. Natural Law, something a person has by his very nature, is, according to Cicero, a person's reason, which instinctively informs him of what is right and what is wrong. Since law is a natural force *(vis naturae)*, right reason dictates what is allowed and what is forbidden. All people share this common law, that is, reason; they therefore form one community under that law and share the same common justice. Justice is concerned with the conservation of society, the giving to each person his due, and the faithful discharge of duties assumed (*De Legibus*, I:v). Cicero says that while a "commonwealth" is a given group of people obeying the same ruler and code of laws, all people of the earth are a single large community of citizens under the natural law. "Hence we must now conceive of this whole universe as one commonwealth of which both gods and persons are members" (*De Legibus* I:vii).

What is virtue? Simply put, it is the fulfillment of one's obligation to this society of reasoning beings. Wisdom, or the accruing of knowledge through a life devoted to study, is virtuous, says Cicero, but without service to humankind, this virtue becomes ineffective. Duty *(pietas)*, then, is a practical application of that which has been learned, and in the following argument he places duty above even the most noble of human acts, study: "If wisdom is the most noble of virtues, as it certainly is, it necessarily follows that duty which is connected with the social obligation is the most important duty. And service is better than mere theoretical knowledge, for the study and knowledge of the universe

would somehow be lame and defective, were no practical result to follow. Such results, moreover, are best seen in the safeguarding of human interests. It is essential, then, to human society; and it should, therefore be ranked above speculative knowledge"(*De Legibus*, I:xliii.).

In *De Re Publica* we read that a statesperson is more praiseworthy and certainly more illustrious (*laudabilior...illustrior*) than the wise and clever person, who, though a good citizen, does not share his knowledge for the common good. It is the function of a wise person to extend her boundaries and to increase her wealth, while the person of justice seeks to spare his neighbor, to care for humankind, and to give each his due, and to tamper with neither public property nor the property of others. A just person is free from anxiety and concern for his/her own welfare, and sees nothing as more sacred than the welfare of others (*De Re Publica*, III:iii-iv).

In *De Officiis* Cicero credits the pursuit of knowledge as advantageous and obligatory, for this is what trains a person to be an excellent citizen and to render service to his country. A morally good person enhances her perception of the truth by such an awareness of *societas* and *communitas*, that she will do no harm to anyone and will always place common above private interests (*De Officiis*, I:xliv and I:vii). Following on the heels of justice are the virtues of kindness (*beneficentia*) and generosity (*liberalitas*). These virtues depend on justice, for kindnesses may injure, and generosity may have self-serving overtones. A just person bestows favors on just or virtuous persons and is conscious of preserving the common bonds of fellowship and society which unite person to person, be it with family, tribe, or state. According to Cicero, the most perfect way to serve is through statesmanship.

Romans of "Virtus" and "Pietas"

Legendary: Romulus, Numa, Horatius, Cincinnatus, Mucius Scaevola

Historical: Scipio Africanus, Scipio Aemilianus, Cato the Younger, Cicero, Marcus Aurelius

TIBERIUS: TOUCHSTONE OF TYRANNY?
A Research/Role-Playing Unit for Latin II

Linda A. Chester, Teacher of Latin
Leominster High School
Leominster, Massachusetts

Subject: Latin II

Level: Grades 10, 11, 12

Connections with textbook:

In most textbooks for Latin II, a natural link to Tiberius and the early Roman Empire is the emphasis on Julius Caesar, originator of the Julio-Claudian dynasty of which Tiberius was part.

Length of unit: Two weeks

Readings:

Dudley, Donald. *The World of Tacitus.* Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1965.

Perry, Marvin. *A History of the World.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1988, pp. 96-107.

Reinhold, Meyer, ed. *The Classick Pages: Classical Reading of Eighteenth-Century Americans.* Introductions and Notes by Meyer Reinhold. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975, pp. 99-101, 106-8.

Robinson, Charles Alexander, Jr. *Ancient History: From Prehistoric Times to the Death of Justinian.* New York: The MacMillan Company, 1951, pp. 582-85, 702.

Suetonius. *The Twelve Caesars.* Trans. Robert Graves. New York: Viking Penguin, 1979, pp. 7-11, 113-152. (As I was unable to find an expurgated version, I photocopied for class use relevant pages with chapters 43, 44, and 45 deleted).

Tacitus. *Annals* 1-6.

Tacitus. *Empire and Emperors: Selections from Tacitus' Annals,* Trans. Graham Tingay. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Oxford Classical Dictionary. s.v. "Tacitus."

Oxford Classical Dictionary. s.v. "Tiberius."

Velleius Paterculus. *History of Rome.* (Loeb edition, pp. 309-329).

Other Materials:

"Last Century of the Republic and the Augustan Age." Audiotape. *American Classical League Roman Civilization Series*

Costumes and props, as desired by student actors

Leominster High School, located in the city of Leominster in north central Massachusetts, has an enrollment of 1370 students in grades 9-12. This figure includes a trade school population of 312 students. Approximately 67 percent of the graduating class of 1989 elected to pursue higher education in the form of either college/university or a technical institute. Approximately 66 percent of the students eligible to take a foreign language enroll in the languages offered—French, Latin or Spanish. Almost all the students who study Latin do so in addition to one of the other two languages. The study of Latin was just reintroduced to the curriculum in 1987-88. There are now 87 students enrolled in the Latin program which includes Latin I, II, and III. When this curriculum unit was tested, the highest level was Latin II with an enrollment of 20 students.

This unit was designed to supplement ongoing lessons in Latin II, for most Latin students the final year of study of the language. One advantage of including the unit at this point is the opportunity it provides for study of the Roman imperial period, not usually touched upon until Latin IV, which, when is included in a school's curriculum, generally reaches only a select few of the more intellectually motivated students. Another benefit of the unit is its introduction of the Roman historian Tacitus who figured prominently in eighteenth-century American political thought.

In Meyer Reinhold, *The Classick Pages*, an anthology of selections from the favorite classical readings of eighteenth-century Americans, Tacitus' reputation in the American Founding Period is illustrated by a comment of Thomas Jefferson. "Tacitus," Jefferson wrote to his granddaughter in 1808, "I consider the first writer in the world without a single exception. His book is a compound of history and morality of which we have no other example" (p. 100). Eighteenth-century American Whigs found in Tacitus' accounts of despotic emperors like Tiberius, exemplary illustrations of the destructive effect of tyranny.

Although Latin II students generally do not have enough skill in the language to read Tacitus, a difficult writer in the original, the exposure to his writings in translation, and to the imperial period about which he wrote, help to place in a broad historical context the study of Latin II of the earlier Republican Period. The unit also give students exposure to other Roman writers not usually included in the high school Latin curriculum, Suetonius and Velleius Paterculus. This unit would also fit well into social studies, for example, world history, as the readings are in English.

"Tiberius: Touchstone of Tyranny?" was taught in the institute follow-up year to a Latin II class in which sophomores, juniors, and seniors were enrolled. The following account is based on that pilot effort which drew an enthusiastic response from students.

The unit is planned to provide students with an opportunity to evaluate primary and secondary evidence concerning the nature of power, as reflected in the principate of the second Roman Emperor, Tiberius (42 B.C.E.-37 C.E.), stepson and successor of Augustus. Students are asked to work to develop their understanding of the following concepts.:

1. The evolution of the Roman principate
2. The use and abuse of power
3. The dilemma of dealing with tyranny

Unit activities are planned to be scheduled over a two-week period as a supplement to the regular Latin curriculum, ongoing except for the three last days of the unit, when entire class periods are developed to a mock trial of Tiberius, and then a discussion of the trial's outcome. The unit has four phases, for which suggested time spans are given below: background study, preparation of evidence, mock trial, and discussion period.

From Phase Two on, students function as two separate groups (prosecution and defense) within the same classroom, each managed or organized by a student *dux* or leader chosen by either the students or the teacher. The two groups hear the same lectures and read the same materials, those listed at the beginning of this account. For example, both groups hear a lecture giving an overview of the events in Roman party politics from the death of Julius Caesar through the principate of Augustus Caesar, and also learn about the complexity of Tiberius' family tree (students see similarities here to contemporary soap operas). All students read excerpts of translations from Suetonius, the little-known Velleius Paterculus (Roman general/historian and crony of Tiberius), and Tacitus. The textbook, *Empire and Emperors*, mentioned in the list of readings, is a useful introduction not only to Tacitus, but also to the era of Tiberius. After the background sessions are completed, students begin to work as groups for the procecution and defense and are given time to prepare their folders of "evidence" relating to the charge with which the Emperor Tiberius has been accused: that he is a "touchstone of tyranny" (the phrase is taken from the Dudley book listed in the readings, p. 83). The unit ends with a mock trial and final discussion. At the trial the prosecution and defense teams present their findings before an "impartial" judge, someone from outside the classroom, for example, a social studies teacher, local attorney or judge who can perhaps contribute advice about protocol for this trial.

An outline, with suggested time allotments, of the phases of the unit follows.

Phase One (3 class periods)

1. **Topic:** The evolution of the Roman republic into a principate

   Objective: Students will study events in Roman party politics from the death of Julius Caesar through the principate of Augustus Caesar.

   Readings and other materials: Lecture/tape "Last Century of the Republic and the Augustan Age." Homework assignment in Tacitus, *Empire and Emperors*, pp. 5-7, 11. Prior assignment for readings could be given in a world history textbook made available through the social studies department and in reference works in the school library (for genealogical tables of the Julio-Claudians as found in, for example, Robinson).

   Classroom activities: Lecture and discussion

2. **Topic:** A synopsis of the role of major personalities linked with crucial events, such as the treason trials in the reign of Tiberius

   Objective: Students will identify key figures/events in the principate of Tiberius

   Readings and other materials: Hand-outs (photocopy of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* entry on Tiberius), text *Empire and Emperors*, pp. 15-62 assigned as homework)

   Classroom activities: Lecture and discussion

3. **Topic:** An examination of the works and life of Tacitus. (Emphasis will be placed on his goals and motives.)

   Objective: Students will become familiar with the writings and biography of the Roman historian Tacitus. Students will become aware of the impact Tacitus had on the leaders of the American Founding Period.

   Readings and other materials: Hand-outs (photocopy of the *OCD* entry on Tacitus), text *Empire and Emperors*, pp. 9-10.

   Classroom activities: Lecture and discussion

Phase Two (4 class periods)

1. **Topic:** An analysis of the historical impact of Tiberius from the viewpoint of a particular historical character

   Objective: To prepare for mock trial of Tiberius

   Readings and other materials: *Annals* of Tacitus (in translation); photocopy excerpts (in translation) from Velleius Paterculus' *History of Rome*, II. cxxi-cxxxi and Suetonius' life of Tiberius in *The Twelve Caesars* (remove 43-45).

   Classroom activities: After the teacher has divided the class into two groups roughly equal in number and ability, each group will select a leader. Lots will then be drawn to designate each group as either "defense" or "prosecution". Each leader will choose an assistant. The groups will attempt to provide evidence for the defense/prosecution of the Emperor Tiberius as an "touchstone of tyranny". Crucial to the evaluation of their "cases" will be the introduction

of historical "eye-witnesses". All students (except leaders and assistants) will select key historical figures and will continue to examine primary/secondary sources for the perspectives of their figures. Group leaders have the responsiblity for opening/closing statements at the "mock trial" scheduled for the end of this unit. They will also work with each witness to develop a line of questioning/cross-examination for the witness. Each group should begin by drawing up a list of potential witnesses for their side (no duplicates allowed!). The group leaders should hold a brief conference to disclose their lists and remove "doubles". The group leaders will be able to arrange for brief interviews with the witnesses for the other side during this phase, but should realize that witnesses for the opposition may be "hostile" in their interpretation of the events. Their assistants will begin to create an evidence folder with facts favorable to their side's case and will prepare a bibliography of sources used by the group. The class will function as two distinct units within the same room during this phase. Allow for a least two days of this phase to be scheduled in the school library.

Phase Three (2 class periods)

1. **Topic:** A mock "trial" of the Roman emperor Tiberius who stands accused of being a "touchstone of tyranny"

   Objective: Students will demonstrate their understanding of the nature of power as reflected by a "trial" of Tiberius with evidence presented by both the "prosecution" and the "defense." Each side is responsible for oral presentation of its case, depiction of historical personae, and submission of an evidence file with bibliography. Grade is to be made independent of the verdict and based on the quality of the above criteria.

   Readings and other materials: Evidence files: costumes/props created by the students

   Classroom activities: Individual group presentation of the case both for and against Tiberius. Each side will present opening and closing statements, written evidence for or against Tiberius, and will call on witnesses (complete with appropriate costumes and props) who will enact actual or representative personalities from the era of Tiberius. The verdict will be rendered by an impartial judge or jury. (See Appendix for list of "witnesses" in unit.)

Phase Four (1 class period or may be handled by a written assignment if the "trial" requires more than two class periods).

1. **Topic:** A discussion of the nature of power in the principate of Tiberius

   Objective: In a continuation of the portrayal of historical personae, students will form discussion groups. Under the guidance of the teacher, groups will be asked to explore these topics, and report back.

   1. The impact of the Roman principate on the historical personae/witnesses
   2. The use and abuse of power by the personae/witnesses
   3. The possible ways in which similar actions by a "President Tiberius" might be dealt with under the U.S. Constitution today

   Readings and materials: The evidence files of the "prosecution" and the "defense"

   Classroom activities: Discussion groups or written assignment

Appendix

List of "Witnesses" in Mock Trial at Leominster High School (supplied by Jeannie Han, leader of the prosecution team)

Witnesses for the Prosecution: Agrippina Major, Claudia Pulchra, Sejanus, Clutorius Priscus, Titus Sabinus

Witnesses for the Defense: Tacitus, Velleius Paterculus, Livia Drusilla, Virilla, Tiberius, Vispania Agrippina

MILESTONES IN ANCIENT AND MODERN WESTERN THOUGHT

Brother Thomas Miller, FSC
Teacher of Social Studies
Calvert Hall College High School
Towson, Maryland

Subject: Western Civilization

Level: Grade 9

Length of Unit:

Teaching in this case is done in segments throughout the year.

Objectives:

1. To foster students' thought processes in terms of both analyzing and questioning ancient texts
2. To familiarize students with primary sources
3. To lead students to a comprehension of the evolutionary development of social, political, and economic ideologies
4. To have students apply the concepts and/or problems studied to the issues facing the United States and the world today
5. To foster students' understanding of the role of ancient Greece and Rome in the evolution of Western political and economic thought

Readings:

Readings will be included at the end of this account.

Calvert Hall College High School is a four-year Catholic-Christian college preparatory school with a student body of approximately 1100 young men. I am Director of the school's McMullin Scholars Program, a special track for honors students. I also teach in the social studies department. My current schedule includes Honors World Civilization, the in-school title of the course which is the subject of this account (freshmen), American government/Political Economy (seniors), and Humanities II (juniors in the McMullin Scholars Program).

The NEH summer Institute *"Polis" and "Res Publica": Classical Political Theory and the U.S. Constitution* provided much material which can be drawn upon for any of the courses above. During the 1988-89 academic year, I incorporated some of this material into the Honors World Civilization course for freshmen, a class of twenty-two students. The course emphasizes Western civilization.

The teaching plan which I describe here was designed to incorporate into this course most of the Greek, Roman, and Enlightenment writers covered in the Institute. A few other authors (e.g., Rousseau, Smith) were included as supplementary reading. The readings relate to anticipated outcomes: students' comprehension of writers' philosophical arguments and ability to trace across the centuries the development of ideas about such topics as virtue, forms of government, slavery, prejudice, and property.

Each student was assigned an individual author, about whom he would become an "expert." In each case, the student was provided with selected excerpts from the author's writings, and encouraged, as well, to examine other passages and works by the same author. Additional research was also required. These ninth-graders, it is worth emphasizing, read the assigned authors with comprehension (as mentioned they were an "honors" group).

Following their reading and research, students were required to submit papers, each of which was to include: 1) a brief history of the individual author, 2) an explanation of what was going on in the Western world at the time he was writing, and 3) an explanation of his philosophical thought. As follow-up to the papers, students were required to give class presentations of their findings and to field questions from classmates and instructor. Although all papers were due at the same time, class presentations were incorporated into periods throughout the year, in accordance with where authors fit chronologically. Prior to each class presentation, all the students were provided with some selections by the author who would be the topic that day, so that there would be a common basis for discussion and questions.

Here are some examples of authors assigned and concepts emphasized, to which I will refer in the discussion which follows:

Thucydides

Readings: *Peloponnesian War* 1.89-117; 2.34-46
Themes: Athenian ascendancy (1), Pericles' funeral oration (2)

Aristotle

Readings: *Politics* 2.1-7; 3.7
Themes: Property (2), good government (3)

Locke

Readings: *Second Treatise of Government* 5, 9
Themes: Property (5), dissolution of government (9)

The authors fit into the historical narrative of the course. Thucydides was examined in relation to his treatment of the causes of the Peloponnesian War, the cultural differences between the Athenians and Spartans, and the idea of loyalty to the city-state. Aristotle was studied in connection with the development of Greek thought. They were compared and contrasted as to their thinking. Thucydides noted that the Greek defense league suffered as the Athenians utilized the defense fund for their own benefit. A look at Aristotle's "common" goods versus the idea of "mine" is useful in light of what, we learn, happened to the League. (In like manner, later in the course, the question of property can be brought in while covering Marxist thinking, the anarchists, and twentieth-century ideologies.)

In a similar fashion, looking at the dissolution of the Greek confederation, a point of comparison would arise in covering both Aristotle's and Locke's views. Would the Greek civil war have been justified by Aristotle's view of good/corrupt government and/or in Locke's view of government and its responsibilities? Many such "common threads" were picked up by the students throughout the year, without the need for excessive prompting from the instructor.

Listings, of steps in the learning process and of assigned readings, follow.

Steps in the Learning Process

1. Each student, either individually or as one of a two-person team, selects an author. Authors were: Thucydides (ca. 459 - 399 B.C.); Aristotle (384-322 B.C.); Cicero (106-43 B.C.); Plutarch (ca. A.D. 40-ca. 120); Locke (1632-1704); Montesquieu (1689-1755); Rousseau (1712-1778); Smith (1723-1790); Madison (1751-1836); Hamilton (1755-1804).

2. Each student is told to become as "expert" as possible in reference to his author. Two primary selections are the minimum in required reading for a student's paper and class presentation. Further reading, in both primary and secondary sources, is strongly encouraged.

3. Each student prepares a written report on his author. Minimum length of report is four to five typed pages. The format of the report is a summary of the background of the author followed by an explanation of his philosophy.

4. Each student presents his findings to the class. Each class member comes to that class prepared for the report by reading one or more primary source readings initially given to the "expert," thus creating a common background for the presentation and follow-up discussion.

5. As a final evaluation of each student's part, his paper and presentation are graded. Each topic covered is included in testing at the appropriate time of the year.

Readings

Author	Readings for Student "Experts"	Readings for Entire Class	Discussion Topics
Thucydides	*The Peloponnesian War*, Bk. I, 1-23, 66-68 (general historical background)	*The Peloponnesian War*, Bk. I, 89-117 (Athenian ascendancy), Bk. II, 34-46 (Pericles' funeral oration)	Power, domination, and corruption
Aristotle	*Politics*, Bk. II, chaps. 1-7 (political partnership/possessions)	*Politics*, Bk. I chaps. 3-7 (slavery), Bk. III, chap. 7 (good government)	Slavery; types of government; good government
Cicero	*Republic*, Bk. II (historical development of Rome, forms of government, tyranny, characteristics of good leadership)	*Laws*, Bk. I, vi-xxiv (justice/injustice)	Justice
Plutarch	*Cato the Younger*	Joseph Addison's *Cato* (18th century drama)	Characteristics of good citizen; comparison of theme through history
Locke	*Second Treatise*, chaps. 1, 2 (civil government; state of nation) chaps. 4, 5 (state of war; property)	*Second Treatise*, chap. 19 (dissolution of government), *Declaration of Independence*	Revolution
Montesquieu	*Spirit of the Laws*, Bk. I, 26 (law: civil, religious, natural)	*Spirit of the Laws*, Bk. II (nature of three types of government)	Relations between people, laws and government
Madison	*The Federalist*, 47, 48 (separation of powers)	*The Federalist*, 10, 49, 50 (faction; direct election)	Faction, parties, interest groups, electoral college
Hamilton	*The Federalist*, 15, 16, 17 (degree of central vs. local government)	*The Federalist*, 1; *Articles of Confederation*	Federalism; strong vs. weak government; weaknesses of the *Articles of Confederation*

Author	Readings for Student "Experts"	Readings for Entire Class	Discussion Topics
Smith*	*The Wealth of Nations*, Bk. V, chaps. iib, iig, iik (I-II) (taxes in general, on profits of particular industries, on consumable commodities)	*The Wealth of Nations*, Bk. I, chaps. i-ii (division of labor)	Division of labor—benefits to the economy
Rousseau*	*The Social Contract*, Bk. I (social pact, sovereignty, property, slavery)	*The Social Contract*, Appendix B, pp. 12-17, 19-29, 31, 35-37, 46-52, 72-76 (respect for law, inequality, farm policy, welfare, taxation)	Links with current economic issues

* Both Adam Smith and Jean Jacques Rousseau are authors who were not incorporated into the Institute but seemed sufficiently valuable in context to be included in the course planning. Editions used were: Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. by R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) and Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Right*, trans. by Charles M. Sherover (New York: New American Library, 1974).

APPENDIXES

SYNOPSIS OF INSTITUTE LECTURES AND READINGS

Compiled and edited by David L. Schaefer

Lectures 1-2: **The Philosophic Foundations of the American Constitution (Thomas Pangle, University of Toronto).**

Readings: Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, Preface and Book I, secs. 1-10, 44-8, 50-59, 86-93; II, secs. 1-94, 123-48, 211-30.

Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, Author's Advertisement, Preface, and Books I-V, VII, XI (chaps. 1-6), XII (chaps. 1-2), XIX, XX (chaps. 1-7), XXIX (chap. 1).

Professor Pangle discussed the political theory found in Locke and Montesquieu, as well as in the writings of David Hume and *Cato's Letters* (by Trenchard and Gordon), with a view to elucidating the themes of natural right, the state of nature, the social contract, the meaning (in the Declaration of Independence) of "Nature and Nature's God" (in opposition to the Biblical God and the Aristotelian conception of a teleological nature), the status of private property, the kind of civic virtue required by modern, liberal republicanism (in opposition to classical republican theory), and the role and place of science and philosophy in a healthy society. The lectures explained how the most well-thought-out versions of the modern political theories informing the Constitution began from an attack upon, or a very critical dialogue with, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, and the tradition that arose from them, as well as the Christian-Aristotelian tradition represented in the Anglo-American consciousness by Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. These lectures drew extensively on Professor Pangle's books *Montesquieu's Philosophy of Liberalism* and *The Spirit of Modern Republicanism*.

Lectures 3-5: **The Constitutional Convention and the Debate on Ratification (Murray Dry, Middlebury College).**

Readings: The Declaration of Independence; the Constitution; selections from the records of the Constitutional Convention, from *The Federalist*, and from selected Antifederalist writings.

Professor Dry's lectures aimed to illuminate the Constitutional dialogue that took place in 1787 both within the Convention and during the subsequent debate on ratification. An unfortunate trend among twentieth-century American historians has been to depreciate the significance of the *arguments* put forth at the time of the Founding by advocates of different Constitutional schemes, seeing them as merely "ideological' disguises for conflicting economic or social interests. While the Founders themselves highlighted the importance of self-interest in politics, Madison's notes of the Convention reveal the high degree to which the delegates committed themselves to, and were susceptible to, rational investigation and persuasion about the best means of securing the long-range interest of the country as a whole. Similarly, the ratification debates embody a profound articulation of partly opposed visions of republicanism and the means of securing civil liberty. Even though the Anti-Federalists "lost" the latter controversy, it has been persuasively argued (e.g. by

Herbert Storing and William Schambra) that they as well as the Federalists made an important and still influential contribution to the American Constitutional tradition.

Professor Dry sought to promote an appreciation of the Constitutional controversy as an illustration of the highest possibilities of practical political debate. Although the issues between partisans of the opposed plans of government presented at the Convention and in the subsequent debates are not so broad as those that emerge when the premises of the Founders are juxtaposed with those of the classics, an understanding of the former is a prerequisite to comprehending the bearing of the latter on American Constitutional issues.

Lectures 6-7: **Thucydides (Clifford Orwin, University of Toronto).**

Reading: *The Pelopponesian War*, I. 1-23, 66-138 (with special attention to 1-23, 68-71, 89-118, 125-138); II. 13-55 (especially 13, 34-36, 47-55); III. 70-82; IV. 80; V. 1-24 (especially chaps. 15-16).

While Thucydides can hardly be said to have exercised a direct *positive* influence on America - witness the *Federalist*'s denunciation of the turbulence of political life in the ancient republics - he remains helpful for understanding American constitutionalism. Like Plato and Aristotle, Thucydides is primarily an analyst of *regimes*. The principal "characters" in his work are Athens and Sparta, which he presents as the opposite but complementary poles of civilized political life. His celebrated claim to enduring utility for his book depends above all on the adequacy of "Athens" and "Sparta," whatever these may prove to signify, for grasping the permanent possibilities of politics. The principal intention of these lectures, therefore, was to locate the American founding *in terms of* Athens and Sparta.

At the same time, it was stressed that there is a more-than-coincidental *indirect* connection between America and Thucydides, resulting from the powerful influence that Thucydides exercised on Thomas Hobbes; through him, on Locke; and through Locke, on the American Founding. Hobbes's political project, as modified and greatly improved by Locke and the Founders, can be understood as an attempt (conscious on the part of Hobbes, taken for granted by his successors) to achieve a kind of *synthesis* of Athens and Sparta, which would combine the outstanding virtues of those dissimilar regimes while avoiding the vices which Thucydides presents as their necessary obverse. For Thucydides, no such synthesis was possible, and political optimism was therefore unwarranted. The liberal tradition is far more hopeful. "Athenian" liberty, rationalism, individualism, dynamism, and hopefulness; "Spartan" stability, sobriety, attachment to property, and aversion to foreign adventures: such were the political aspirations that guided the American Founding.

Lectures 8-9: **Plato (Christopher Bruell, Boston College).**

Reading: Selections from *Republic* Books III, VII (cave metaphor), VIII-IX.

"While wading through the whimsies, the puerilities, and [the] unintelligible jargon of [Plato's *Republic*], I laid it down often to ask myself how it could have been, that the world should have so long consented to give reputation to such nonsense as this." This remark from a letter of Jefferson to Adams, though displaying the rhetorical extremism to which its author sometimes fell victim, conveys in an

exaggerated fashion the relative disregard for Plato - in comparison with other classical authors - on the part of many of the leading Founders. Such deprecation is striking, in view of Plato's historical reputation as one of the two pre-eminent classical philosophers, and may well suggest that Jefferson and his contemporaries failed to appreciate the subtleties of Socratic irony and of the dialogue form.[1] Nonetheless, there is indeed a substantial gap between Plato's political teaching and the "liberal" premises on which the Founders' enterprise rested. For that very reason, it is of value to consider that enterprise *in the light of* the classic, Platonic articulation of the fundamental problems of political life.

Professor Bruell's lectures examined both the differences and the continuities between the political thought of Plato and that of the American Founders. Particular attention was given to the critical discussion of democracy and the "democratic man" in Books VIII and IX of the *Republic*, so as to understand the reasons for the traditional philosophic deprecation of democratic government, and thereby to illuminate what had to be undertaken by the Founders in order to liberate popular government from that opprobrium. A second focus was on the emphasis in the *Republic* on moral and poetic education as core concerns of the political community, in contrast with the apparent lack of similar concern on the part of the framers of the Constitution, and a discussion of the problems this absence may have generated for our country.

Lectures 10-11: **Aristotle (Catherine Zuckert, Carleton College).**

Reading: Aristotle, *Politics* Book I, Chapters 1-7; Book II, Chapters 1-2; Books III and IV.

What can Aristotle teach us about American politics? In the first place, Professor Zuckert argued, Aristotle offers a very different understanding of the nature of political life. By comparing the state of nature theory underlying the American Constitutional system with Aristotle's *Politics*, we become aware of the controversial character of some typically American political presuppositions. For example, where the social contract theory imbedded in the American Declaration of Independence suggests that, contrary to most historical experience, people come together and self-consciously agree to establish a certain form of government, Aristotle traces the development of the *polis* out of the family and tribe. By reflecting on the different accounts, we are led to ask: How are "peoples" or nations generally formed? How was the American "people" formed? What is the relation between individuals and "people"? Where the rhetoric of the Declaration suggests that the rights governments are instituted to protect inhere in individuals, and that individuals are, therefore, both more natural and original than the government they construct, Aristotle concludes that the *polis* is "prior." Why?

Second and more fundamental, where the Declaration explicitly states that "all men are created equal," Aristotle insists that differences in intellectual and physical abilities are politically relevant and should be recognized as such. Are we fooling ourselves when we claim that all American citizens are or ever can be equal members

[1] "The attack on Plato as the father of priests and parsons ... is a kind of Enlightenment tic; it had apparently completely eclipsed the text [of the *Republic*] for Jefferson." (Eva Brann, *Paradoxes of Education in a Republic* [University of Chicago Press, 1979], p. 97).

of the polity? What does membership or citizenship really entail? If, as Aristotle claims, human beings develop the ability to rule themselves only through engaging in political deliberation, why doesn't he conclude that direct democracy is the best form of government? What gives any person or group the right to rule, according to Aristotle? According to the American Founders? If popular consent is essential, why didn't they recommend direct democracy either? Why is the rule of law best, generally speaking, according to both the ancient philosopher and the American Founders?

In her second lecture, Professor Zuckert addressed Aristotle's practical recommendations for organizing and preserving republican government. The "mixed regime" that Aristotle represents as the best possible form of government under most circumstances resembles the American constitutional order in some important respects. Both the mixed regime and the American Constitution protect citizens from the tyrannical tendencies of government by dividing political power among different groups and offices which then serve to check each other. Both "constitutions" may, moreover, depend for their effective operation not merely on the institutional arrangements but more fundamentally on the role and special characteristics of a dominant middle class. There are, however, some fundamental differences; and bringing out these differences again sheds light on both the advantages and the limitations of the theory and the practice of the American regime. In the first place, "legislation" is not the same as "deliberation." The analytic "separation" of powers underlying Aristotle's recommendations concerning the mixed regime is not, therefore, the same as that underlying the American Constitution. And that analytic difference reflects an important difference in the ends or purposes of the two "limited" systems of government. The United States Constitution explicitly eschews the formation of character that Aristotle thought constituted both the essential purpose and most important effect of any regime. The more limited ends of the American Constitutional order, however, have helped foster the development of a larger middle class (and hence a degree of political moderation and stability) that Aristotle would have found inconceivable.

Second, in suggesting which "parts" of the polity ought to be granted what offices and honors, Aristotle stresses the way in which the economic activities of a group will affect its performance of a given civic function. American institutions give no official recognition to such differences of cultural attitude as well as economic interest as we still observe between agrarian and urban legislators, for example. By abstracting from the effects of economic interests and cultural backround in the formal design of our institutions, does our constitutional system willfully blind Americans to important political facts?

Lectures 12-13: **Polybius (Susan Ford Wiltshire, Vanderbilt University).**

Reading: Polybius, *Histories*, Book VI.

Professor Wiltshire began by citing the question posed by Polybius, a Greek, of how the Romans acquired such great power, and the emphasis Polybius placed in his answer to that question on the character of Rome's constitution. Concerning Polybius' influence, Meyer Reinhold has observed, "The paramount model for the Founding Fathers of a constitution structured to retard political decay and assure at the same time freedom and stability was the constitution of Rome at the end of

the third- early second centuries B.C. - as analyzed by Polybius in book 6 [of his *Histories*], the vaunted prototype of a commonwealth since the Renaissance, the favorite source for classical republicanism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Polybius's argument was specifically cited by John Adams in his *Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*, and also by Madison (who alludes to Polybius' account of the weakened Carthaginian Senate in the 63rd *Federalist* in order to demonstrate "the irresistible force possessed by that branch of a free government, which has the people on its side," and the consequent need for internal balancing mechanisms in order to prevent the decay of republicanism into popular tyranny).

While the Founders shared Polybius' concern to avert popular tyranny, they ultimately supplanted the inclusion of non-republican elements in the government in favor of a system of checks and balances that constituted what the *Federalist* describes as a *wholly republican* remedy for the diseases to which republics are prone. A study of Polybius provides the occasion for appreciating both the magnitude of the problem confronting the Founders, and the novelty of the solution they adopted for it. At the same time, the long-term deviation of the American Constitution in certain important respects from the Founders' intentions (the adoption of direct election of the Senate; the failure of the Electoral College to work as intended; the increasing reliance on "plebiscitary" methods of selecting Presidential candidates) constitutes an incentive for considering the question of whether the "wholly republican" approach constitutes an unambiguous improvement over the classical mixed regime. Was Polybius right after all?

Lectures 14-15: **Cicero (Rev. Ernest Fortin, A. A., Boston College).**

Readings: Cicero, *Republic*; *Laws*, Book I.

Cicero is best remembered as the author who singlehandedly made a home for philosophy in the Roman world, doing for his country what Plato had done for Greece. For more than thirteen centuries, he remained the leading philosophic authority in the Latin West, both pagan and Christian.

Cicero's endeavor to introduce philosophy to Rome was rendered particularly difficult by Rome's traditional hostility to philosophy and Greek learning in general. It thus called for unusual tact and circumspection. Part of the reason for Cicero's choice of the dialogue form is that it permitted him to discuss openly certain philosophic opinions which, as a Roman statesman, he was not free to express in his own name. The same reason accounts for the emphasis on practical (i.e., moral and political) philosophy as distinguished from natural philosophy in his works. For him, philosophy, "the most exalted gift of the immortal gods," was not a set of doctrinal or dogmatic statements but a guide of life, an explorer of virtue and an expeller of vice.

The substance of Cicero's political thought is contained in the *Republic* (most of which was lost until a manuscript discovery in 1820) and the *Laws*, two dialogues modeled on the *Republic* and the *Laws* of Plato, the philosopher whom Cicero most admired and whom he professes to follow most closely. Both dialogues reveal a profound understanding of Plato's teaching as well as a desire to adapt that teaching to the needs and sensibilities of Roman society. In general, they seem more "conservative" and more "patriotic" in their approach to the study of politics. Whereas

in the *Republic* Plato's characters dismiss all actual cities as unjust and undertake to found a new city in speech, Cicero's characters look to Rome itself as the model of the just society. Whereas Plato's characters begin by looking for a definition of justice and insist that the superiority of justice over injustice be demonstrated, Cicero's characters take justice for granted and do not even raise the question of its goodness until midway through the conversation. A closer look at the text of the *Republic* nevertheless reveals that Cicero himself harbored few illusions about Rome's justice or, for that matter, about the possibility of any perfectly just social order.

Similar remarks apply to Cicero's *Laws*, which attempts to describe the laws and institutions best suited to the kind of regime described in the *Republic*. Contrary to what one might have expected, the theme of the dialogue is not Roman civil law but the jurisprudence of universal right, which the interlocutors proceed to discuss in the light of the standard of human nature. Cicero, it seems, is less interested in defending Roman law than in rewriting it in accordance with this new standard. Much of what is said about law in the dialogue was later incorporated into Roman law, through which it penetrated into the mainstream of Western legal theory.

The one point on which Cicero appears to part company with his Greek mentors concerns the natural law, a notion that he did much to accredit and that is foreign to the thought of Plato or Aristotle. Yet the cognitive status of the natural law as presented in the *Republic* is never fully clarified. If one considers that the natural law is bound up with the notion of divine providence, which Cicero rejects in the dialogues *On the Nature of the Gods* and *On Divination*, one begins to suspect that he looked upon it not as a true teaching but as a practically sound one, the purpose of which was to "promote the firm foundations of commonwealths, the strengthening of cities, and the curing of the ills of the people." The context of Roman foreign policy within which the theory is usually discussed suggests that it forms part of a rhetorical argument designed to cope with what continued to be Rome's most acute problem, its imperialism or insatiable desire for conquest.

The larger question raised explicitly in the *Republic* and at least implicitly in all of Cicero's philosophic works has to do with the relative merits of the theoretical and the active or political life. Here as elsewhere, Cicero appears to have sought to reconcile the Roman belief in the supremacy of politics and the Greek doctrine of the supremecy of philosophy. He surely thought that the political life guided by philosophy was superior to the political life alone. Whether he also regarded the former as superior to the philosophic life alone is less certain. The answer to the question is saved for the end of the *Republic* and is given only in the form of a prophetic dream in which Scipio, the dialogue's most outstanding character, marvels at the paltriness of the earth and the small part in it occupied by the Roman Empire when seen from the summit of the heavenly spheres through which he has just been swept up. (This section, "The Dream of Scipio," was the only surviving part of the *Republic* until the 1820 discovery of other portions of the dialogue). It may well be that for Cicero, as for Plato and Aristotle, the fundamental human choice was between the life of theory and the life of noble citizenship.

In many ways, Cicero's approach to politics stands in sharp contrast to that of the American Founders, as is evident from the fact that whereas the latter speak mainly of "rights," Cicero emphasizes "duties." Yet, had it not been for Cicero, Fr. Fortin noted, it is doubtful that the Founders would ever have spoken as they did of "the laws of nature and of nature's God." Cicero's most obvious importance for the Founders lies in his having been one of their authorities for the understanding

of the classical mixed regime, a point for which he was applauded by John Adams in particular in his *Defense*. The study of Cicero's writings serves also, however, to illuminate the fundamental problem of reconciling wise statesmanship with a form of government based on the consent of the people - a problem confronting not only the Founders but all subsequent American political leaders.

Lectures 16-18: **Tacitus (J. Rufus Fears, Boston University).**

Readings: Tacitus, *Annals*, Books I-VI; Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chaps. 1-3.

Thomas Jefferson's remark that he considered Tacitus to be "the first writer in the world without a single exception" expresses in a somewhat exaggerated form the widespread interest of the American Founders in the writings of the historian who had authoritatively recorded the decline of liberty in the Roman world. Tacitus' analysis of the characters and events of Roman imperial history was thought to reveal historical "laws" regarding the nature of liberty and power, and the governmental forms which could insure freedom by checking power. The translation of Tacitus by Thomas Gordon (the co-author of *Cato's Letters*) constituted - as Gordon's contemporaries recognized - a Whig adaptation of Tacitus' language and thought; in his introduction to the translation, Gordon highlighted the lessons to be learned therein for all those concerned with defending liberty against the aspirations of would-be tyrants. Tacitus' influence can also be seen in the most significant historical work of the Founding period, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which was published between 1776 and 1788.

Professor Fears's first lecture explored Tacitus' view of the Roman imperial system, including his account of the moral and political causes of the fall of the Republic. Professor Fears stressed Tacitus' understanding of the nature of power, his conception of tyranny, and his account of the relationship between the rise of tyranny and the demise of both public and private virtue. The second lecture discussed the transmission of the Tacitean tradition to the Founders: the ways in which Tacitus' conception of power and of the relationship of liberty to virtue formed a "parameter" in the Constitutional debate (including the use made by the Anti-Federalists of the connection between liberty and civic virtue as an argument *against* the adoption of a strong national government, which they feared would undermine the prerequisites of such virtue).

Lectures 19-20: **Plutarch; concluding lecture (Meyer Reinhold, Boston University).**

Readings: Plutarch, "Lives" of Solon, Lycurgus, Cato.
Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.i, chap. 15.

Professor Reinhold's first lecture discussed the significance for the American Founders of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, for many years the most popular work of classical literature in America. While the *Lives* was always looked to as a source of moral instruction, during the period of the Revolution and the Founding its portrayals of republican statesmen and founders made it particularly a source of political enlightenment and historical models as well. It was Plutarch's portrait of Lycurgus that engendered the widespread admiration of Sparta during the eighteenth century.

on account of her stability, the long maintenance of her freedom, the patriotism and morality of her citizens, and the apparent "balance" of her constitution. Among other Lives particularly beloved by Americans of the Founding generation were those of Cicero, admired for his dedication to the preservation of republicanism against tyranny; Solon, as an alternative model of the republican lawgiver; and Demosthenes. But the most popular of all in eighteenth-century America was Plutarch's Life of Cato the Younger, idealized as a model of unremitting patriotism and dedication to liberty. (Cato's life was popularized through performances of Joseph Addison's play *Cato*, the first great neoclassical English tragedy, which was particularly popular in America during the 1760s and 1770s).

The distinctive character of American as distinguished from classical republicanism can be seen in Alexander Hamilton's *repudiation* of the Spartan model, which he apparently knew largely from Plutarch. It was "visionary," he concluded in 1782, to aspire to establish a republic of strictly virtuous men in America, owing to the "total dissimulation in the circumstances, as well as the manners," of Americans and the ancients. Although the *Federalist* borrows several items of historical evidence (as well as the authors' pseudonym "Publius") from Plutarch, it stresses the need for a fundamental *improvement* over the principles of the classical politics that he portrayed, in order to harmonize republicanism with the goals of stability and individual liberty. Nonetheless, in the *Federalist*'s account of how the Presidential office is structured in order to attract men of high ambition and enable them to pursue fame for themselves *by* making use of their large Constitutional powers to promote the long-range interest of the community, an underlying element of agreement can be seen between the Founders' and Plutarch's conceptions of the requisites of republican statesmanship.

Professor Reinhold's second lecture discussed the retreat and disenchantment from the admiration for classical antiquity that was already evident in the early national period. Washington's Farewell Address signified the distinctively "modern" horizon of the new republic by remarking that "[w]e must take men as they are, not as we would like them to be." Or, as Jefferson - along with John Adams, perhaps the leading student of the classics among the Founders - put it, "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past." Yet it was also Jefferson who enunciated the dependence of liberty on the maintenance of the people's moral character; who urged that men study history in order to be capable of judging the future, and to "know" and defeat "ambition under every disguise it may assume"; and who remarked that "it would be very ill-judged in us to follow" the European example of allowing "the learning of Greek and Latin" to fall into disuse. The latter judgment is echoed by Tocqueville's observation that the study of Greek and Latin "is peculiarly useful in democratic societies," at least for "those who are destined by nature or fate to adopt a literary career," as "the best antidotes against the inherent defects" of modern democratic tastes. We concluded the Institute by assaying the meaning and the merits of this remark.

Reunion Year Lectures: **Women and Politics: Aristophanes, Plato, and Contemporary America (Arlene Saxonhouse, University of Michigan).**

Readings: Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae*; Plato, *Republic*, Book V.

Professor Saxonhouse discussed two comedies by Aristophanes, as well as a book of Plato's *Republic*, that provide an ancient perspective on what has only in

recent times become a widespread reality: the introduction of women into political life. In *Lysistrata*, women go on a sex strike in order to induce their husbands to sign a peace treaty and stop the war that takes the men away from their homes; in the *Ecclesiazusae*, women take over power in the city and establish a radically new regime in which private property is abolished, and where sexual pleasure is distributed equally to the fair and the ugly. In Book V of the *Republic*, Socrates, arguing that there is no more difference between male and female than between a man with long hair and another with short hair, has women included as members of the warrior class, and then as potential philosopher-queens, in his proposed "best regime." In each of these works, the two ancient authors (Aristophanes and Plato) explore the conditions for and the consequences of introducing women into the political arena, in terms both of the women themselves and of the nature of society as a whole. The two authors raise serious questions about the implications of women's becoming political participants, in part because they see men and women as concerned with very different aspects of human existence, so that women are not only one half of the human species, but representatives of an essential aspect of human nature: the attachment to a private realm of particulars, as distinguished from a public realm of universals.

Since Abigail Adams's famous admonition to her husband, the role of women in the context of the American polity has been debated from numerous perspectives. The issues have never been simple or uniform. For instance, the early suffragettes were interested in getting the vote for women so that they might introduce a peculiarly moral perspective into a corrupt political world. Lysistrata and her co-strikers illustrate the ancient version of this concern. The more recent wave of feminism began with claims of equality leading to the movement to enact the Equal Rights Amendment; but has become complicated by the so-called second wave, which emphasizes differences, rather than simple equality, between the sexes. Issues such as pregnancy and Carol Gilligan's notion of a "different voice" introduce nuances not previously acknowledged in the contemporary movement. In the ancient texts on political women, Professor Saxonhouse emphasized, Aristophanes and Plato carry through the proposals for political equality to the extremes of comic absurdity, but it is precisely by doing so that they force us to probe into the assumptions and implications of current debates concerning women and public life.

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Compiled by David L. Schaefer

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II. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SELECTED SECONDARY LITERATURE ON THEMES RELATED TO THE INSTITUTE

(Note: this bibliography is in no sense intended to be comprehensive. Rather, it lists both some standard books on the authors and themes studied at the institute, and a number of books and articles that are of particular value in understanding the philosophic, political, and historical works we studied, in that they focus on the illumination of the political themes of these works and exhibit their continued relevance for students of American constitutionalism. In some cases I have added notes summarizing the particular thesis or relevance of particular studies. Readings are listed in the order of themes treated at the institute; hence classical authors discussed are listed in chronological order, except in the case of Aristophanes, who was treated at our reunion year meeting).

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SEVEN CLASSICAL WRITERS NOTED FOR POLITICAL THOUGHT

Marie Cleary

Material for the following brief accounts was drawn from two sources, listed below. In addition, David Schaefer (Political Science) and Blaise Nagy (Classics), College of the Holy Cross, provided suggestions and emendations. Reference works used were:

Luce, T. James, ed., *Ancient Writers, Greece and Rome*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982.

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1. *Thucydides* (ca. 459 - ca. 399 B.C.) was an Athenian military leader and historian, author of the *Histories* (of the war between Athens and Sparta, 431 - 404 B.C.) in eight books. The book is more generally known as *The Peloponnesian War*, because the Spartans and their allies in the Peloponnesus region of Greece joined forces against Athens. Thucydides himself fought in the war. He frequently quotes the major characters of the war in his work, whether in speeches or debates. While the speeches cannot have been literal transcriptions, it is open to discussion to what extent they are intended to be accurate paraphrases or are Thucydides' artful constructions of what he deemed appropriate under the circumstances. Another feature of his history is his portrayal of moral breakdown in the face of war, revolution, and plague. He is recognized as a responsible, truthful historian and an austere and forceful literary genius. Thucydides explains his concern with recording the Peloponnesian War by describing it as the greatest of movements known to have taken place up to this time, and so, he implies, as most fully illustrative of the scope and limitations of human aspirations and achievement.

2. *Plato* (428 - 348 B.C.) was an Athenian philosopher. He was a follower of Socrates and left Athens for a time after Socrates' death in 399 B.C.. When he returned to Athens, he established a school, the Academy, in the outskirts of the city. His purpose was not only to promote philosophical dialogues, but also to train future statesmen in science and philosophy. His extant works include thirty-five dialogues and thirteen letters, although the authenticity of some is disputed by scholars. Socrates is a character in most of his dialogues. In Plato's most famous work, *The Republic*, Socrates describes a form of government ruled by philosophers. *The Republic* has been variously interpreted as a recipe for an ideal state or as a critique of political utopianism.

3. *Aristotle* (384 - 322 B.C.) was born in Stagira in northern Greece and was the son of a physician to the King of Macedonia. He spent many years at Plato's Academy in Athens, both as a pupil and an independent investigator. He left Athens for a period of time and during this period served as tutor to Alexander of Macedonia (whom we know as Alexander the Great). He returned to Athens and founded a school which became known, because of the place where it was located, as the Lyceum. His followers were called Peripatetics, a name derived from the Greek word for colonnade, a place where they congregated. His school became a research center with a library and probably a museum. His extant works include treatises on logic and metaphysics, philosophy of nature and natural science, philosophy of mind, ethics, politics, and art. He developed the system of formal logic and classified all the fields of knowledge known in his time. In his *Politics* he treats the forms of governments, the means of preserving and improving them, and their relation to the good life for human beings. His other most important works bearing on politics are the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Rhetoric*.

4. *Polybius* (205? - 125? B.C.) was a Greek historian who wrote about Rome's rise as a world power. After a Roman victory at Pydna (in Greece), he, as a prominent Greek statesman, was

among a group of Greeks deported to Rome for a political investigation. He was befriended by Scipio Aemilianus, general and literary patron, and became a member of the famous "Scipionic Circle," a group of educated men interested in Greek literature and philosophy (Cicero uses members of this circle as characters in some of his philosophical dialogues). Polybius' extant work comprises parts of the *Histories*, a work that narrates Roman history from the war with Hannibal (beginning in 220 B.C.) to 146 B.C. when Rome had become mistress of the world. He presented Rome as a civilization destined by fortune for world supremacy, and attributed Roman success to such factors as the Roman constitution and the organization of its army (Book 6 of *Histories*). His discussion of the Roman mixed constitution influenced Western political thought down to the founding era of the United States.

5. *Cicero* (106 - 43 B.C.) was a Roman statesman, orator, and writer. Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives* gives a full account of Cicero's life, and much information about him is contained in his many extant letters. Cicero studied in Athens and Rhodes, and then began to climb the ladder of public office in Rome. As a "new man," that is, one from a family which had not held consular rank, he was elected consul (one of the two chief executives of the Roman state) in 63 B.C., with the support of the senatorial party who feared Catiline, another contender for the office, who was plotting violent overthrow of the government. Caught up in the power struggles of the dying Roman Republic in the sixties, fifties, and forties B.C., and now on one side, now on another, he retreated to the writing of philosophy. He finished his *De republica (Republic)* written in imitation of Plato's *Republic*, in 51 B.C.. Finally, he was executed at the order of the Second Triumvirate. His surviving works include orations, dialogues, essays, and letters. His popularization of Greek philosophy, especially that of the Stoics, and his powerful prose style are two reasons for his pervasive influence in Western thought and literature. His two major works of political thought are the *De republica* (of which all, except the *Dream of Scipio*, was lost until 1820) and the *De legibus (Laws)* which is in fragmentary form.

6. *Tacitus* (ca. A.D. 55 - after 177) was a Roman historian and statesman. He wrote both short monographs (e.g., *Agricola*, *Germania*) and two longer works of history, which, combined, cover the period A.D. 14 - 96—the *Histories*, beginning in 69 A.D. after Nero's suicide, and the *Annals*, beginning in 14 A.D. in the reign of Tiberius. He is famous for his style, terse, dynamic, and characterized by innuendo rather than straightforward interpretation. With an austere view of human affairs, he looks back with regret to the liberty Romans enjoyed under the Republic as compared to their servility and passivity under the emperors from Augustus on. He also decries the moral corruption that typified the reigns of many of the emperors of the first century A.D.. Two topics in Tacitus which engaged the interest of early Americans were his harsh portrayal of despotism and his praise of the morals of barbarian peoples such as the British and Germans as compared with the morals of urban Romans. Jefferson wrote that he considered Tacitus "the first writer in the world without a single exception."

7. *Plutarch* (ca. A.D. 40 - 120) was born and lived in central Greece, but spent time in Athens, Delphi, and Italy. He was a Greek public official and writer of philosophical works and biography. As a government figure, he promoted cooperation between Greece and its conqueror Rome, so that the culture of the one might be spread through the power of the other. His most famous work, the *Parallel Lives*, included twenty-three studies of pairs of lives (one pair has been lost). In each set he narrates the lives of a Greek and a Roman who, in his judgement, invited comparison (for instance, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar). These were followed by Plutarch's comparisons of the paired lives; nineteen such comparisons have survived. Plutarch's purpose was to demonstrate the private moral behavior underlying the public actions of great men. He was the favorite classical writer of early Americans.

RECENT BOOKS ON TEACHING THE CLASSICS

Compiled by Marie Cleary

Burns, Mary Ann T. and Joseph F. O'Connor. *The Classics in American Schools: Teaching the Ancient World.* American Philological Association pamphlets; No. 8. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987. Available from American Philological Association, Holy Cross College, Worcester, MA 01610-2395 (after January 1, 1991). An overview of the role of the classics in both Latin and non-Latin curriculum; an important policy statement.

Cleary, Marie Sally. *The Bulfinch Solution: Teaching the Ancient Classics in American Schools.* Salem, NH: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc., 1990. A study of *Bulfinch's Mythology* as a prototype of instruction in the classics for a modern mass audience.

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Sharwood Smith, J.E. *On Teaching Classics.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977. An earlier British counterpart to *The Classics in American Schools.*